THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

It is understood that the Porte is considering the whole question of exploration and excavations in the Turkish Empire, and that a new code of rules will before long become law. The conditions which will be laid down in the scheme under consideration are as yet unknown. We hope, however, that they will be favourable to the uninterrupted pursuit of such work as our own.

Meantime, we are watching for an opportunity to carry on the work of our programme. If it be found impossible for the present to continue the Survey of Eastern Palestine, we shall have to attack other parts of the work, of equal importance, though not of such general interest. It has been decided to issue, as soon as possible, the portions already surveyed, and Captain Conder, when he returns to the Committee in May, will compile the Memoirs of this portion.

The third volume of the Memoirs of the Western Survey, forming the fifth volume already issued, is now in course of publication. It contains Judæa, and as much of the south country as is included in the Survey. Subscribers who have not yet received their copies will be good enough to communicate with the Secretary.

The printing of the Jerusalem volume has been commenced. This work will contain, after an introductory chapter on previous research in and about the city—(1) Colonel Warren's detailed account of all his own excavations; (2) an account of M. Clermont Ganneau's work; (3) an account of Captain Conder's work; (4) the German work in the Muristan and on Ophel; (5) the Siloam Stone and other inscriptions found in Jerusalem; (6) an architectural history of all the buildings in Jerusalem, with reference to the contemporary and later notices of these buildings, and a reconstruction of Constantine's Basilica, and the group of churches which succeeded it, by Captain Conder; (7) an account of

researches outside the city, also by Captain Conder; (8) a brief chronicle of the city, and a *resumé* of the controversy over the sites. This work will be, like the Memoirs, illustrated with woodcuts, plans, and maps, and will be accompanied by a portfolio of drawings, sections, and plans to illustrate Colonel Warren's papers. The book will not, like the Memoirs, be limited in number, though it forms a portion of the work called the "Survey of Western Palestine."

Canon Tristram's "Flora and Fauna" will complete the work. As regards this volume the author writes: "What I propose to give is a careful catalogue of all the species existing in the country, giving the Linnean names and references to the original authority for each name, the Hebrew and Arabic vernacular names when such are known, the range of each species within the country, and also the extent of its geographical range elsewhere. In the case of forms of life peculiar to the country more details may be given. I also propose to figure all species peculiar to Palestine, and some of the rarest which extend beyond its limits, but have never yet been figured. The mammals and birds are being drawn by Mr. Keuleman and Mr. Smit, and will be coloured. The reptiles and fishes are being engraved by Mr. Mintern. The volume will contain the mammalia, the birds, the reptiles, the fresh-water fish of the Jordan and its affluents, the land and fresh-water molluscs, the diurnal butterflies, the Orthoptera, the Arachnidæ, and the flora, comprising at least 1,600 species of phanerogamic plants." The printing of the work is already commenced. Hopes are entertained of bringing it out before the end of the year. This also will be issued independently of the great work of which it forms a part.

There are a few copies not yet subscribed of the "Survey of Western Palestine." The Committee are very desirous that these should be taken by Public Libraries. Librarians and subscribers are requested to communicate with the Secretary as to the terms on which Libraries can have the whole work.

The Old and New Testament Maps have been well received. Up to the present date there have been taken by subscribers, at subscribers' price—about 400 each. This is a fair beginning. But it is only a beginning. The Committee have placed all Sunday Schools on the same footing as subscribers, provided they apply to the Secretary at the office.

The authorised lecturers for the Society are—

(1) The Rev. Henry Geary, Vicar of St. Thomas's, Portman Square. His lectures are on the following subjects:—

The Survey of Western Palestine, as illustrating Bible History.
Palestine East of the Jordan.
The Jerusalem Excavations.
A Restoration of Ancient Jerusalem.

(2) The Rev. James King, Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick. His subjects are as follows:—

The Survey of Western Palestine.
Jerusalem.
The Hittites.
The Moabite Stone and other monuments.

(3) William Pearson, Esq., Homefield, Langbank, Port Glasgow, Scotland.

The income of the Society, from December 22nd to March 22nd inclusive, from all sources, amounted to £1,123 13*s.* 3*d.* The expenditure was as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Maps and Memoirs	576	9	6
Printing account	100	0	0
General management	187	12	0

The amount lying in the Banks on April 2nd was £346 3*s.* 4*d.*

The following is the Balance Sheet of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1882:—

RECEIPTS.

1882.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Jan. 1.—Balance	112	11	7
Dec. 31.—Subscriptions and Lectures	1,993	4	2
„ Maps and Memoirs	1,577	11	11
„ Books	97	13	6
„ Photographs	14	16	11
	£3,795	18	1

EXPENDITURE.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Dec. 31.—Exploration	889	4	9
„ Maps and Memoirs	1,372	16	11
„ Salaries and wages, Rent, Advertising, Stationery, Bookbinding, Office and Sundries, Books and Translations	644	2	3
„ Lecture expenses	45	17	0
„ Postage	88	10	11
„ Printing	391	12	0
„ Balance	363	14	3
	£3,795	18	1

Examined and found correct.

W. MORRISON,
Treasurer.

The liabilities of the Society on January 1st were as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
1. Office and Printing account ..	569	12	4
2. Memoirs	669	6	6
3. Maps	825	7	2

On the first account a reduction of £200 has been already made, on the second of £407, and on the thirdof £250. The liabilities on the Map account will of course be cleared by the sale of the Maps.

The assets of the Society are—(1) the amount still due for the Memoirs, viz., £881 5*s.*: (2) the amount due for Maps, viz., £84 11*s.*: (3) the copies of the Memoirs which still remain unsubscribed: (4) the copyrights of books, engraved plates, negatives, and photographs: and (5) the office furniture, books, and scientific instruments. To these assets may be added the promised annual subscriptions. Subscribers will understand that the liabilities on the Maps and Memoirs account have nothing to do with the General Fund, and that the debts of the General Fund consist almost entirely of the printing bills.

As regards the general expenditure, the Survey party came home in the spring, so that the exploration expenses were much less than was anticipated. The division of the whole shows the following proportions. It will be observed that the management expenses are pretty nearly a fixed sum, viz., between six and seven hundred pounds a year, whatever else be spent.

Exploration	25·90	per cent.
Maps and Memoirs	39·98	„
Postage	2·57	„
Printing	11·39	„
Management and Lecture expenses	20·16	„

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

THE most interesting question connected with the topography of Jerusalem is that of the true site of the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, in which Christ was laid, and of the place called Golgotha, or Calvary, where He was crucified, and which was "nigh at hand" to the sepulchre.

The indications of position contained in the Gospels are very slight. The two sites of Golgotha and the sepulchre were near each other (John xix, 42). The place of Crucifixion was "nigh to the city" (John xix, 20); and we learn from the Epistle to the Hebrews that Jesus "suffered without the gate" (Heb. xiii, 12). There is nothing, however, further to show which side of Jerusalem these sites should be placed.

It may reasonably, however, be supposed that Golgotha ("the Skull") was the ordinary place of execution for criminals, which is mentioned in the Mishnah under the name *Beth-has-Sekilah*—the "House of Stoning:" for there is no reason to think that the Roman procurator would have made use of a different place of execution to that established by the Jewish Sanhedrin, although that assembly had been debarred by the Romans from the power of inflicting capital punishment only a little before the date of the Crucifixion. This ancient Jewish place of execution is mentioned as follows in the Mishnah (or Text of the Talmud), about 150 A.D.

"When the judgment was finished they brought him forth to stone him. The place of stoning (Beth-has-Sekilah) was outside the Judgment Hall, as it is said, 'Bring him forth that hath cursed' (Levit. xxiv, 14). One stood at the door of the Judgment Hall with a scarf in his hand, and another man rode a horse far off from him, but so that he could see him. If any said, 'I have somewhat to say for his defence,' this one waved his scarf, and the other galoped his horse and stopped the accused; and even if he himself said, 'I have somewhat to tell in my defence,' they brought him back as many as four or five times, only there must be substance in his words. If they found him clear they set him free, but if not they took him forth to stone him. . . . The Place of Stoning was the height of two men. One of the witnesses threw him down on his loins; . . . if he died with that thrust it was finished, but if not the second witness took a stone and cast it on his breast. If he died with that blow the stoning was finished, but if not he was stoned by all Israel" (Sanhed. vi, 1–4).

From this somewhat crabbed description several interesting conclusions have been drawn by commentators. The passage quoted from Leviticus (xxiv, 14), together with the arrangement for communicating by a signal-man and a mounted man between the judges and the condemned, clearly shows that the place of execution was outside the city, and at some distance from the Judgment Hall. It is also understood that a cliff, some 12 feet high, existed at the place of execution, over which the condemned was thrown by the first witness. If he was not killed by the fall, the second witness cast down a stone on him, and the crowd on the cliff, or beneath, stood ready to complete the barbarous execution. It should be noted that

the other methods of execution detailed in the tract Sanhedrin are equally barbarous, and also that it appears to have been the custom to hang on a tree, or a cross, the bodies of those who were stoned. "They sunk the beam in the ground, and a cross-beam extended from it, and they bound his hands one over another, and hung him up" (Sanhed. vi, 4). The body was, however, removed at sundown according to the negative command (Deut. xxi, 23). Thus the "House of Stoning" was also a recognised place of crucifixion.

A tradition is current amongst the Jews of Jerusalem which places this "House of Stoning" at the present knoll, north of the Damascus gate, in which is a cave, known since the fifteenth century as the "Grotto of Jeremiah," with a cliff, the maximum height of which is about 50 feet, facing southwards towards the city. This tradition was first collected by Dr. Chaplin, and I afterwards twice obtained it independently from separate individuals, both being Spanish Jews, and thus belonging to the oldest community of Jews in the city.

This tradition is of course not in accord with that of the Christians, but it has several points in its favour. First, the site is outside ancient Jerusalem, as restored by the latest authorities, the third wall coinciding east of the Damascus gate with the present wall of the city. Second, the existence of an ancient Jewish tomb immediately to the west of the knoll, and of another, possibly Jewish, a little further south, would seem to indicate that the ancient city did not extend so far as to include the vicinity of the knoll: for we learn from the Talmud (Baba Bathra ii, 9; Tosiphta Baba Bathra i; cf. Yoma iii, 3) that all tombs were at least 50 cubits outside the walls, saving those of David and Huldah. Third, a Christian tradition, as early as the fifth century, also pointed to the vicinity of this site as the place of the stoning of Stephen, the proto-martyr. Fourth, the vicinity has apparently been always considered unlucky. In the fifteenth century we find Mejr ed Dîn speaking of the tract immediately east of the knoll, under the name *Es Sahrah*, "the desert," and pronouncing it to be accursed and haunted, so that the traveller should not pass it at night. This idea is no doubt connected with that of fixing the Valley of Judgment (or Jehosaphat) in the Kedron, which is still called by the Arabs Wâdy Jehennum (the Valley of Hell), an identification which is not supported by any very clear reference in the Bible, although the tradition is ancient and common to Jew, Christian, and Moslem (cf. Joel iii, 12). The valley passes not far east of the knoll, and has its head north of it, where the name Jehosaphat probably still survives in the Arabic name of the village of *Sha'fât*. The name of the knoll, according to Mejr ed Dîn, was *El Heidemîneh* or *El Heidemîyeh*, and the latter is still the name given to the place by Moslems. It would mean "broken," or "destroyed," perhaps on account of the cliff; the Moslems, however, consider that it is a corruption of *Heirimîyeh*, in which case it is derived from the traditional Christian name of Jeremiah's Grotto.

The site is one well fitted for a place of public execution. The top of the knoll is 2,550 feet above the sea, or 110 above the top of the Sakhrah rock in the Haram. It commands a view over the city walls to the Temple

enclosure and the Holy Sepulchre Church. A sort of amphitheatre is formed by the gentle slopes on the west; and the whole population of the city might easily witness from the vicinity anything taking place on the top of the cliff. The knoll is just beside the main north road. It is occupied by a cemetery of Moslem tombs, which existed as early as the fifteenth century at least; and the modern slaughter-house of Jerusalem is on the north slope. The hill is quite bare, with scanty grass covering the rocky soil, and a few irises and wild flowers growing among the graves. Not a tree or shrub exists on it, though fine olive groves stretch northward from its vicinity; a few hungry dogs are generally prowling about, and an evil odour from the slaughter-house always offends the senses in climbing the slope. The hillock is rounded on all sides but the south, where the yellow cliff is pierced by two small caves high up in the sides. Some of the Jews appear to consider that the Beth-has-Sekilah was actually *in* one of these caves, which would accord better with the height of the cliff as mentioned in the Mishnah. Visitors of late years have sometimes thought that the hill with its caves resembles a skull with eye-sockets; but this is perhaps rather a fanciful idea, and the best evidence lies in the Jewish tradition.

The proposal of identifying this hill with Calvary was first published in "Tent Work in Palestine;" but in 1881 it was found that a Jewish tomb existed on a smaller knoll west of the north road, about 200 yards from the top of the first-mentioned knoll. It was apparently laid bare during building operations in the vicinity, and had not been previously described. This discovery led to the suggestion that the tomb thus standing alone might be the actual sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, and the idea excited considerable interest in England at the time.

Having thus noticed the sites to which Jewish tradition seems to point as representing the Holy Sepulchre and the place called Golgotha, we may pause for a moment to notice the Christian tradition as to these sites.

The first writer who speaks of these holy places after the Christian era is the Bordeaux pilgrim, who visited Jersalem in 333 A.D., when Constantine's basilica was being built. He says, "On the left (of a pilgrim going to the Neapolitan or Nablus Gate) is the little hill Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified. Thence about a stone's throw is the cave where His body was placed." He thus apparently describes the present traditional sites in the Holy Sepulchre Church.

The early fathers and pilgrims (as, for instance, St. Willibald in 722 A.D.) also agree that the holy sites were outside Jerusalem in the time of Christ. Willibald says that St. Helena included them within the city walls; Sœwulf (1103 A.D.) says that Hadrian did so; but none deny that the wording of the Gospel and Epistle is clear on this point.

According to Eusebius, the Holy Sepulchre was concealed under a mound, on which stood a Temple of Venus, and on removing this the Holy Tomb was discovered quite unexpectedly by Macarius, "beyond all hope" and by "a miracle" ("Vita Const.," iii, 28–30). Constantine's letter to Macarius after this discovery, ordering the building of a basilica, does

not mention the finding of the Cross, said to have been dug up near this site by his mother Helena, in 326 A.D., but the story of this miraculous discovery is noticed by St. Cyril in 347 A.D. The Cross was apparently also seen by Sta Paula in 383 A.D., and the story is repeated by Theodoret in 440 A.D. It appears clear from these accounts that there was no extant tradition as to the site of the sepulchre, but that it was found unexpectedly, and even supposed to have been miraculously indicated to Helena (cf. Robinson, "Later Bib. Res.," pp. 256–8).

It has been argued that the site was known by the existence of the Venus temple, but there is nothing in the account of Eusebius to favour such a view. Considering how uncritical an age the fourth century is known to have been, it is more probable that Macarius, when he found an ancient tomb under the temple on its destruction, jumped to the conclusion that it was the Holy Sepulchre: even if it be not really more probable that an ancient Mithræum was reconsecrated as a holy Christian site by the Patriarch,—just as St. Clement's at Rome stands over a Mithræum, and as the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem is stated by Jerome to have been long used as a Mithraic cavern. Instances innumerable might be quoted in which pagan sites were thus reconsecrated. Pope Gregory, in his famous letter to his clergy (Bede, p. 141), recommends such reconsecration of pagan shrines to Christian uses, as the people would more readily gather in accustomed places of worship. The annual ceremony of the Holy Fire, which is supposed to issue from the Holy Sepulchre, is clearly of pagan origin, and is traced back at least to the ninth century (Bernard the Wise). This fact also lends some support to the idea that the cave may have already existed beneath the temple of Venus, or Ashtoreth, and may have been reconsecrated by Macarius, under the name of the Sepulchre of Christ.

It has also been argued that remains of the ancient city must have existed, and that Constantine and Macarius would not have sought the Holy Sepulchre within its bounds. As regards the first part of this question, Eusebius does speak of such remains ("Theophania," p. 242), and also of New Jerusalem opposite the ruins of the old ("Vita Const.," iii, 33); but nearly three centuries had then elapsed since the great siege, and Jerusalem had been rebuilt by Hadrian, so that considerable archæological knowledge (such as was certainly not characteristic of the age) would have been required to determine the extent of the ancient town. As regards the second part of the contention, we must never forget that men did not argue in the fourth and fifth centuries in the manner which is distinctive of scientific research in the nineteenth; they were ready rather to adore the sites indicated by their priests, and to accept the authoritative assertion of patriarchs and preachers with humility. No one can read the homilies of Cyril, the letters of Jerome, or the itineraries of the early pilgrims, without seeing that this was the case. Jerome and Eusebius had curious ideas as to the waters of Bethesda; the Bordeaux pilgrim found the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, still visible on the marble before the altar: he even believed the Transfiguration to have occurred on Olivet, confusing it with the Ascension. Sta Paula found Samaria full of demons, who

"howled like wolves, hissed like serpents, bellowed like bulls," according to Jerome's account ("Peregrinatio S. Paulæ"). It was not only Antony of Piacenza who was credulous and superstitious. Traces of ignorance concerning Scripture, and of superstitious beliefs, are found in the earliest and best itineraries of the fourth century. It was an age when men did not very clearly distinguish between Christ and Serapis, when they mixed together the language of the Gospels and the jargon of solar worship. It was an age of belief in sacred footmarks on rocks, and similar wonders, and in no sense of critical or scientific reasoning. The idea that Constantine and Macarius must have taken pains to prove the truth of their new theory, is one which would not be put forward by a student of the fourth century literature as a whole, and it cannot for a moment bear the test of modern research. The notes I have made as to the course of the Tyropœon Valley show clearly that it sinks very rapidly from the narrow saddle near the citadel, and so-called Tower of David; and no military man could for a moment admit that the second wall ran down into this deep valley, instead of occupying the saddle to the west (see "Tent Work in Palestine," vol. i, p. 369). The second wall has not only been shown by Robinson to have started near the Tower of David, but the nature of the ground admits of no other line, and if Josephus is right in saying that it went thence "in a curve" to Antonia (5 Wars, iv, 2) it is quite impossible that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre should have been in the time of Christ outside this wall.

But even if this argument could be shown to be fallacious, there remains the fact that the traditional sites were certainly within Agrippa's wall, which was built only eleven years after the Crucifixion, to defend the suburb which had grown up outside the second wall. Such a suburb would probably have taken in those days more than eleven years to attain the extent necessitating a new line of fortification. In this case, whether within or without, the Holy Sepulchre (as fixed by Constantine) was so close to the second wall that it is impossible to suppose its site not to have been surrounded by houses in the time of Christ, a fact which would be fatal to the authenticity of the site.

The result of ten years of study of this question has been to convince me of the following facts:—

1st. That the tomb of Nicodemus, immediately west of the traditional Holy Sepulchre, is the monument of the Kings of Judah, including the tombs of David and Solomon (see Conder's "Handbook to the Bible," p. 341, 3rd edition), and existed as such at the time of the Crucifixion.

2nd. that a temple of Venus or of Ashtoreth stood in Constantine's time over the supposed Holy Sepulchre. That it was seen by Eusebius, and is the same shown on a coin of Antoninus Pius, which has the legend C.A.C. (Colonia Ælia Capitolina), with figures of Venus and Cupid. That the tomb was either covered up and not known to exist, or else that it was a crypt used for the mysteries which we know to have been connected with the worship of Venus (as, for instance, at Apheka on Lebanon, where the temple of the mourning Venus was destroyed, by Constantine's orders, like that at Jerusalem). Jerome tells us that the Bethlehem crypt, over

which Constantine also built a basilica, was long used as a Mithræum, where the birth of Tammuz was celebrated. It must also be remembered that Constantine built a basilica on the summit of Olivet, where the foot-mark of Christ on the rock is still shown and supposed to have been imprinted at the Ascension; and this traditional site, which St. Helena visited before the Holy Sepulchre had been found, is not to be reconciled with the statement that Christ ascended near Bethany (Luke xxiv, 50; cf. Acts i, 12). It is quite possible that an old temple of Ashtoreth was restored in the second century on the spot now shown in the Holy Sepulchre Church, and reconsecrated to Christian use by Macarius as the Sepulchre of Christ.

3rd. That there is not a single allusion in any Christian writer earlier than Eusebius (fourth century) to the site of the Holy Sepulchre or of Calvary, and that we have a complete break in tradition of three centuries. The Christians left Jerusalem for Pella before the siege of Titus, and we do not know when they came back. Thus, even if they had preserved at first a feeling of veneration for the sepulchre, there is nothing to show that any tradition of its site was handed down by the Apostles to their successors; and had the site been considered very sacred by the Evangelists, they would probably have been more careful to describe its position. We know, however, that the Jews considered that a man became unclean if he stepped over a hidden tomb (Yoma, iii, 3), although the facts that the Holy Sepulchre was a new tomb never as yet used (Luke xxiii, 53), and that the body of Christ was raised again, may have modified this belief in respect to the particular tomb we are considering.

4th. All the evidence as yet collected points clearly to the fact that the present traditional sites were not outside Jerusalem at the date of the Crucifixion, and it is admitted by all writers, ancient and modern, that this objection is fatal to the authenticity of these sites.

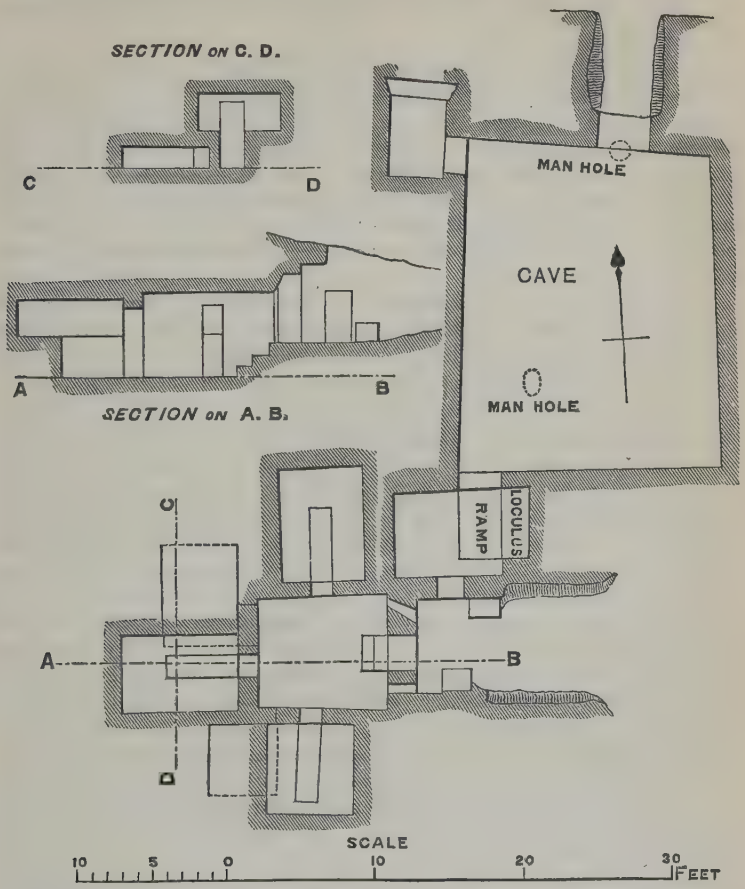
5th. The tradition of the Jews is more reliable, perhaps, than any Byzantine tradition, and the site which is indicated by the Jews appears to agree in a remarkable manner with the Gospel narrative.

6th. That a Jewish tomb exists nigh to the knoll, which Jewish tradition identifies as a place of execution, and even of crucifixion; and that this sepulchre would seem to have stood by itself in the gardens which we know existed north of Jerusalem (5 Wars, ii, 2), the principal Jewish cemetery of the period being further north in Wâdy el Joz.

7th. That this tomb is of the kind mentioned in the New Testament. Not a sepulchre with *kokim*, or tunnels, but one with a *loculus*, so that angels could have been seen seated at the head and at the feet (John xx, 12), which would be impossible in a *Koka* tomb, and that the *loculus* tomb is shown by dated monuments (as, for instance, the tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene) to have been the kind of sepulchre used by the Jews about the time of Christ.

Finally that, although certainty is impossible in face of the very scanty nature of the evidence, the sites now proposed have in their favour better arguments than any others.

The following is the description of the tomb in question sent home in 1881, here reprinted for convenience of reference :—



NEWLY DISCOVERED JEWISH TOMB NEAR THE CITY, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTO.

It is cut in the east face of a very curious rock platform, measuring about 70 paces either way—as shown on the Ordnance Survey, about 200 yards west of the grotto. The platform is roughly scarped on all sides, in an apparently artificial manner, and on the west is a higher piece of rock, also with sides rudely scarped. The rest of the space is fairly level, but there seem to be traces of the foundations of a surrounding wall in some low mounds near the edge of the platform. I have long been aware of the existence of a curious cistern in the north-east corner of this scarp. It has a domed roof with a man-hole, and also a door with a passage 10 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, leading out eastwards. The cistern is about 8 paces in

diameter, and three steps lead down from the door to the level of the cistern floor. This excavation seems originally to have been a chamber afterwards converted into a cistern, and there are sockets for the door-hinges and for bolts in the passage entrance.

The ancient tomb is some 30 paces further south, and the entrance is also from the east. The whole is very rudely cut in rock, which is of inferior quality. The doorway is much broken, and there is a loophole or window, 4 ft. wide, either side of the door. The outer court, cut in the rock, is 7 ft. square, and two stones are so placed in this as to give the idea that they may have held in place a rolling-stone before the door. On the right (or north) is a side entrance, leading into a chamber with a single loculus, and thence into a cave, some 8 paces square and 10 ft. high, with a well-mouth in the roof.

The chamber within the tomb entrance is reached by a descent of two steps, and measures 6 ft. by 9 ft. From either side wall, and from the back wall is an entrance 20 ins. wide and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, leading into a side chamber. A passage runs in continuation of each entrance for $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and on each side is a bench about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide and $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft. high. A similar bench occurs at the end, the whole width of each chamber being thus $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. ; its length 7 ft. 2 ins., and its height from 5 to 6 ft. Each would contain two bodies lying beside the passage, but there would scarcely be room for three. In addition to these three chambers, there are two excavations on the floor-level, in the further corner of the central chamber. They are about 5 ft. square, with narrow entrances, and were scattered with human bones at the time of my visit.

The discovery of this tomb is of no little importance in connection with Jerusalem topography. If it be compared with the great cemetery at Sheikh (Ibreik Sheet V), and with the monument of Helena at Jerusalem, it will be seen to belong to the later Jewish period—the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. It is not a Christian tomb, so far as can be judged, for the Christians in Palestine seem mainly to have used the "rock-sunk" tomb. A cemetery of tombs, of the form commonly used by the Crusaders, was found in 1870 near the north-east angle of the Jerusalem city walls, but no Jewish tomb has ever been found before so close to the ramparts of the modern city on the north.

It would be bold to hazard the suggestion that the single Jewish sepulchre thus found is indeed the tomb in the garden, nigh unto the place called Golgotha, which belonged to the rich Joseph of Arimathea ; yet its appearance so near the old place of execution, and so far from the other tombs in the old cemeteries of the city, is extremely remarkable. I am sorry to say that a group of Jewish houses is growing up round the spot. The rock is being blasted for building-stone, and the tomb, unless preserved, may perhaps soon be entirely destroyed. It is now in a disgusting condition of filth, which shows that the oriental Jews have little reverence for the old sepulchres of their ancestors. Perhaps some of our readers might feel willing to redeem this most interesting monument from its present state of desecration, and to purchase and enclose the little plot of rocky

ground in which it stands. Without such preservation the sepulchre is doomed to destruction sooner or later.

The platform of rock in which the tomb is cut seems possibly to have been the base of a group of towers with a scarped foundation.

The distance from the monument of Helena, and the position with respect to the Cotton Grotto, agrees with the description given by Josephus (5 Wars, ii, 2) of the position of the "Women's Towers" (see Conder's "Handbook to the Bible," p. 352). If the third wall actually extended over this line, it is easy to explain why no other tombs of the same period exist so close to the present city. The extension of the fortifications rendered it necessary to remove the cemetery further off, since the Jews did not allow sepulture within the walls. The cisterns may have belonged to the period when the great towers were here erected, and the passage with steps may even have been a postern from the towers.

If we could feel any reasonable certitude that in this single Jewish tomb (dating about the time of Christ) we have recovered the actual sepulchre in which He lay, an easy explanation of the loss of the site is afforded at once; for the construction, some ten years later, of the "Women's Towers" by Agrippa, upon the rock over the tomb, would have caused the monument to be hidden beneath, or within the new buildings; and thus the sepulchre could no longer be visited, and in course of time its existence was forgotten, until the zealous Helena destroyed the Venus Temple on the present site of the Holy Sepulchre Church, and "beyond all hope" (as Eusebius words it) discovered the rock-cut Jewish tomb, which the faithful accepted as the tomb of Christ.

A careful plan of the site, and of the tomb, was made by Lieutenant Mantell, as the alterations in this part of Jerusalem are proceeding so rapidly, that on our next visit rock and tomb may alike have disappeared.

This tomb has since been visited by their Royal Highnesses Prince Edward and Prince George of Wales, and by many travellers, to one of whom we owe an excellent photograph of the entrance. I am also informed by Herr Schick that a slab of stone was found lying in the tomb, when it was excavated, with a cross and Greek inscription. The slab measured 3 feet 11 inches in length by 2 feet 7 inches in breadth. The lettering is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the top line being 6 inches from the top of the slab. The inscription runs thus :—

† ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙΛΦΕΡΟC

This is evidently a funerary tablet of the fifth or sixth century at earliest, and has no necessary connection with the original tomb.

As regards the door of the tomb in question, it is doubtful whether it was intended to be closed by a rolling stone, or by some other means; but it is also doubtful whether the expressions in the Gospel refer to a rolling cylindrical stone door or merely to the temporary closing of a new, and perhaps half finished, tomb by a large rough mass of stone as generally depicted. Sepulchres are often so closed in Palestine at the present time;

and when an old tomb door is thus stopped by stones it generally shows that bodies have recently been buried there by the fellahîn.

The passages in the Gospels referring to the closing of the Holy Sepulchre are as follows :—

"And he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre" (Matt. xxvii, 60).

"Made the sepulchre sure sealing the stone" (Matt. xxvii, 66). "Rolled back the stone from the door" (Matt. xxviii, 2).

"And rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre" (Mark xv, 46).

"Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre. And when they looked they saw that the stone was rolled away, for it was very great" (Mark xvi, 3–4).

"And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre" (Luke xxiv, 2).

"And seeth the stone taken away" (John xx, 1).

The Greek word *Lithos* used in all these passages is the ordinary word for a stone ; and there is nothing to show that a cylindrical stone door is intended ; so that, although such doors were in use in the time of Christ, it is not necessary that the Holy Sepulchre should be supposed to have been so closed, for there are many other methods which were used by the Jews in closing their tombs.

The plan shows a tomb with two chambers, the main one intended to hold at least six bodies, while the side chamber has only one loculus. We know from the Talmud that it was customary in excavating a Jewish tomb to begin with a chamber for nine bodies (Mishnah, Baba Bathra, vi, 8), the sepulchre being hewn as a family vault. Perhaps the single loculus in the side chamber may have been the veritable new tomb, "wherein never man before was laid" (Luke xxiii, 53). The cave opening out of the chamber northwards is probably a late excavation, and has no connection with the original tomb.

Such then is a simple statement of the existing evidence as to the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary. The rude tomb, perhaps unfinished, is hewn in friable rock, and is thus—as is generally the case—less carefully cut than the sepulchres, which were excavated in harder material. It is defiled and ruinous, crumbling and desecrated, but it still stands in a garden by itself. If the result of the discovery, and of what has now been written on the subject, should be the redemption of the site from its present condition of pollution, and its preservation in a simple enclosure—even if the rock be never crowned by any Christian monument, chapel, or cross, the writer of these pages will feel fully rewarded for the time and labour which he has devoted to the question of the true Sepulchre of Christ.

C. R. Conder, *Capt. R.E.*

24th February, 1883.

THE EXODUS

I.

GUILDFORD,
26th February, 1883.

THE interest in the land of Goshen has been steadily increasing of late, and M. Naville's discovery at Tell Mahûta, together with the late war, attracts attention to the topography of the Exodus. Having spent some weeks in this district, visiting Kantara, Ism'ailieh, Tell Mahûta, and Tell el Kebîr, I venture to put together the ideas suggested by study on the spot.

There are two points which it is important to keep in view in treating this subject. *First*, the *rate* at which it would have been possible for the Israelites to travel. *Secondly*, the physical changes which must have taken place in the country since the date of the Exodus.

Rate.—It seems hardly possible to suppose that the Israelites, with women, children, flocks and herds, could, even when fleeing from their tyrants, have marched faster than the picked infantry of the British army. It is probable also that they did not at first expect to be pursued, having just found the Egyptians so anxious for their departure. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that they did not go more than ten miles a day at most. The modern Arabs, when they move camp, do not generally travel more than about six miles at most in one day. It seems also important to keep clearly in mind the fact that *water* was indispensable to the very existence of the moving host, and we cannot therefore carry them into districts where only salt water could be found. They must have proceeded by caravan routes marked by wells, or else along existing arms of the Nile. The Pelusiac branch was not then silted up, and it appeared clear to me that Wâdy Tumeilât is an old arm of the Nile. Practically we are reduced to two routes: First, that from *Sân* to Syria viâ Kantara, which is the modern caravan road; and second, that down Wâdy Tumeilât crossing by Ism'ailieh. The discoveries and suggestions of Brugsch seem to point to the first, and the late discovery of M. Naville seems to point to the last.

Physical Features.—The experience of the Palestine survey rather leads to a rejection of the idea that great changes in fertility of oriental regions have taken place, and it is not to such conjectures that I would now refer, but to the question of the growth of the Nile delta, and the gradual advance of the Egyptian shore line. This is not a matter of conjecture at all, but of actual scientific observation, and it is one which profoundly affects the topography of the land of Goshen. Writers who assume that the shoals and sandpits of the present time existed fifteen centuries before Christ, cannot have read what has been written by engineers about the Nile. Those who wish to study this question in detail should refer to two very able articles in the "Edinburgh Review" for January, 1877, and July,

1879, called "Mediterranean Deltas," and "Brugsch's 'Egypt under the Pharaohs,'" where they will find the history of the Nile growth treated in detail, and the rather hasty theories of Brugsch considered from a practical and scientific point of view, with authorities of the soundest character duly quoted.

It is not only the Nile which has thus for many centuries been adding land to the maritime districts. The Po, the Tiber, the Rhone, the Danube, all increase in length by the growth of deltas which have been measured, and the Euphrates is equally active. In the time of Alexander the Great, the *Shatt el 'Arab* had not been formed, and the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates were a day's journey apart. The growth of the Euphrates delta goes on at the rate of a mile in seventy years, and Sir H. Rawlinson believes that formerly its rate was a mile in thirty years. Alexander founded the city Charax on the site of the present Mohammerah at a distance of only 2,000 paces from the sea, but that town was fifty miles inland in the time of Juba II, about the Christian era. In Sennacherib's time the sea ran up yet higher, for he crossed the Nar Marratum (cf. Jer. l, 21), or "salt water streams," into which Tigris and Euphrates flowed separately, when going to Naqitu or Bussorah. The modern Kornah, now 100 miles from the sea, was apparently then a seaport. The town of Uruk, or Mugheir (perhaps Ur of the Chaldees), appears to have been also once a seaport, where the fish-like Oannes appeared from the waters; and in 2000 B.C. Babylon was apparently only 150 miles from the sea, instead of 300 miles.

Turning again to the Nile, there is ample evidence of the growth of the Delta. Herodotus believed (ii, 5) that when Memphis was founded, thirty centuries before the Exodus, all Egypt except the Theban Nome was a marsh, and that none of those parts which afterwards existed below Lake Moeris (near Memphis) were then above water. This seems to agree with the derivation of the name Memphis, which some authorities translate "good harbour," though it is now 120 miles inland. It must be remembered that Sân, or Zoan, eighty miles north-east of Memphis, existed already in the time of the 6th Dynasty, or about ten centuries before Abraham. Thus, instead of a bulging delta, the original Nile mouth at the dawn of history would seem to have been in a deep gulf, which has been ever since filling up with the fertile soil brought down from the Abyssinian highlands.

A few details of the Nile growth may be quoted. It should be noticed that Ptolemy does not show any part of Egypt further north than 31° north latitude, which is about the latitude of Zoan. The writer in the "Edinburgh Review" also recognises the artificial straight channels of the Phatmic and Bolbitic mouths far inland, believing that in the time of Herodotus (or eleven centuries after the Exodus) these mouths were only sixty geographical miles north of the bifurcation of the river. Herodotus (ii, 11) says that if the Nile had flowed into the Red Sea nothing could have prevented its being entirely filled up by the mud brought down by the river, and he says also distinctly that the Delta was formerly a bay of

the Mediterranean. He was not aware of the silting up of the Pelusiac mouth, which we now see to be a final result of the Nile mud, and it is probable that another mouth existed near Ism'ailieh, belonging to an arm now represented by Wâdy Tumeilât, which even in Necho's time (600 B.C.) had ceased to exist and was replaced by his canal, still running parallel to the modern Sweet Water Canal on the south side. The Suez isthmus must have been partly formed by the mud brought down this arm; and the lakes Balah and Timsah, with the Bitter Lakes, are perhaps the survivals of the old arm of the Red Sea, which now extends only to Suez. The Suez Canal, in fact, is only a feeble human effort to counteract the mighty natural action of the great river of Egypt.

From the "Edinburgh Review" (Jan., 1877) we gather the following facts. The littoral current carries the Nile mud eastwards to the Syrian coast, where it assists in forming the sand dunes. There is no scour from Lake Menzaleh or from Port Said, and the dredging alone keeps open the canal mouth, 721,000 cubic yards having been dredged in 1875. The currents depend mainly on the wind, and the prevailing wind blows from the north-west. The Damietta mouth and the projecting coast east of Port Said have, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, the strongest currents, and the coast-line was here advancing at the rate of three-quarters of a mile between 1856 and 1875. The shore of the Pelusiac bay is advancing seawards at the rate of thirty-three yards per annum.

The observations of the well-known engineer, Mr. Fowler, in the service of the Khedive, are the most valuable we possess. The solid matter brought down in a year by the Nile is sixty-two millions of tons at least; the muddy colour of the sea at high Nile can be traced ten leagues from shore, and the soundings taken by Admiral Spratt between El Arish and Abu Kîr bay give depths of only fourteen to twenty fathoms at a distance of twenty miles from shore. The actual encroachment of the shore at Port Said between 1868 and 1873 was at the rate of fifty-six yards per annum, and the gradual historic growth of the Delta is placed at about half that rate. These are but a few of the remarkable observations collected in this paper, but in face of such facts Mr. Greville Chester's statement seems rather unsatisfactory. He admits the growth west of the hillock called *El Gelseh*, but says, "I am convinced by personal observation that such processes are not in operation at the present time to the east of that point." Mr. Chester has evidently not fully appreciated the stupendous character of the action of the Nile and the results of recent surveys. His proposal to stop the action at the precise point which suits his theory rather reminds us of King Canute's chair on the seashore, when we compare it with the surveys and soundings of engineers and Admiralty charts, for Admiral Spratt's chart shows the current to run as far even as Gaza.

The average rate of growth of the shore-line would thus seem to be about a mile in sixty years, which is less than that of Euphrates in early times, and there are no known counteracting causes. The mud must go somewhere, and as the wind is in the north-west for the greater part of

the year, most of the mud is washed along the coast eastwards, and the sea is brown with it leagues from shore. Even if we take the very late date given by Egyptologists for the Exodus (which I for one believe to be founded on the most insufficient evidence) we have an interval of thirty-two centuries between the time of Moses and our own times, which would be enough to give an increase in the shore-line of fifty miles—that is, for the formation of all that part of the Isthmus of Suez between Ism'ailieh and Port Said. No doubt we must make allowances for the deposit of the mud near the apex of the Delta, which would have been greater at first than now, and we must not forget the position and antiquity of Zoan ; but even with these deductions we are left far south of the present shoal which closes Lake Menzaleh. It is impossible to travel through the dismal flats surrounding the Suez Canal, to look on the swamps and shallow waters of Menzaleh, or to examine the friable limestone deposits near Kantara, without recognising the action which has been thus going on for ages. The river pouring down its mud to the sea was met continually by the swell caused by the north-west wind. The sudden arrestation of the current caused a large precipitate of mud. A shoal thus formed at the mouth with an inland lake like Menzaleh or Mariût, and a glance at the map shows us a chain of such Serbonian bogs all along the Delta. As more soil was carried down, these gradually dried, and part of Menzaleh has dried since the canal was made. New shoals formed out at sea, new lakes were gradually enclosed and gradually dried, and all the time the isthmus was growing wider and wider, both at the north end and on the south, until the Tumeilât and Pelusiac branches of the Nile had been entirely choked with their own mud, and the Red Sea had been partly choked by the Nile —a fact which Herodotus did not suspect, as it had happened long before his time.

I have thus given pretty fully the reasons which induced me, in 1879, entirely to reject Dr. Brugsch's theory of the Exodus, and to express my disbelief in the identity of the old Serbonian bog with the lagoon near El Gelseh. No doubt a Serbonian bog existed in Roman times on this part of the coast, and the present lagoon is its successor ; but the shore-line has gone seaward in places at least ten miles since then, and the ancient bog must now be dry land.

The highest land in the isthmus appears to be El Jisr, or the cutting north of Ism'ailieh ; but even here there is no appearance of hard rock, and nothing to show that Africa was not, even within the time of man's habitation of the earth, a great island afterwards joined to Asia by the industrious Nile. As, however, Tell Defenneh appears to be an old Egyptian site, we should probably not be far wrong in supposing that the Mediterranean reached only to Kantara at the time of the Exodus, and that the Pelusiac Nile mouth here existed, and perhaps marshes or lakes represented by the existing lake Balah, connecting the Mediterranean with the head of the Red Sea, which might, without any extravagance, have been supposed to extend at least to the Timsah lake, where perhaps another Nile mouth yet existed, now represented by Wâdy Tumeilât. It was at Kantarah,

apparently, that the Egyptian road to Syria from Zoan crossed the line of the present canal in the time of the 19th Dynasty, and the history of the Nile deposit proves to us that, in writing about the Exodus, we have not to deal with an isthmus 100 miles wide, but with a narrow passage among marshes and lagoons between the ancient shores of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

I would repeat that this is not a matter of conjecture or opinion—it is one of scientific observation and historical evidence; and that, consequently, Dr. Brugsch's theory that the Israelites marched along a narrow shoal or strip of shore between the Mediterranean and the lagoon opening at Saranît, together with Mr. G. Chester's view that they went to El Gelseh, which he identifies with Mount Casius, or Canon Scarth's view that the Hebrews camped west of Tell Hîr, are all condemned by the fact that these dreary flats and dunes can be shown, by the observations of skilled engineers and surveyors, to have had no existence in the time of Moses.

In the review of Dr. Brugsch's History of Egypt above quoted in the "Edinburgh Review," these facts are dwelt upon, as well as the extraordinary improbability of the theory which makes the Israelites go out of their road, especially to travel along this dangerous boggy strip (for they were bound for Sinai, not for Syria), and which supposes that a mixed multitude with flocks and herds could have travelled forty miles in a single day along a waterless tract, and again which supposes the position of the Israelite camp to be indicated by references to places twenty or thirty miles away from each other.

By the light of such facts as have been collected by engineers, who were not thinking of the Exodus at all, we may now proceed to study the topography of the episode; but in our present state of knowledge concerning ancient Egypt it is not possible to treat the question with that amount of definition which we have attained to in Palestine, through the labours of the Exploration Society. I would, however, here put together a few notes as to Goshen, Rameses, Pithom, Etham, Succoth, Pi-ha-khiroth, Migdol, Baal-Zephon, the Yam Soph, and Marah, which may perhaps be useful to those interested in the subject.[1]

Goshen.—The district of Goshen, or the "pastoral land," which Dr. Beke once placed in the Sinaitic peninsula, has been defined with tolerable precision (see "Handbook to the Bible," pp. 245–6) as being that part of the Delta which extends south of *Sân*, or Zoan, to the desert of hard sand and gravel south of the Sweet Water Canal. It included the Plain of Zoan (Ps. lxxviii, 11), and the LXX version speaks of Gesen of Arabia, thus apparently identifying Goshen with the Egyptian Arabian Nome, which

[1] I have not here referred to the theories of Josephus and the Septuagint as to the Exodus, in order not to confuse the question; for these later writers seem to understand a march from Heliopolis, near Cairo, which is quite impossible on account of distance. As they lived thirteen or fifteen centuries after Moses, their opinions are not of much importance.

agrees with the meaning of the two words. The capital of the Arabian Nome was called Gosem, and is identified by Brugsch ("Egypt under the Pharaohs," ii, 339) as the later Phacussa, the name of which survives in the ruin of Fakûs, about half way between Sân and Tell el Kebîr.

Colonel Tulloch suggested to me that the district round Kassasin, which is now desert, was once irrigated and fertile. There is no doubt that the fertility of Wâdy Tumeilât is rapidly decreasing, and it is probable that the fertile strip here existing along the course of the Sweet Water Canal was once much broader and less sandy. I could, however, see nothing which led to the supposition that the higher ground about Kassasin, Tell el Kebir, and northwards to Salahîyeh, was ever anything but a desert. It consists of hard sand covered with rounded pebbles.

This, however, is a question of degree only, for rich pastures must have existed along the Tumeilât and Pelusiac branches, and the Israelite shepherds no doubt wandered along the valley by which the British army advanced in 1882.

Rameses.—This city, which has wandered from Heliopolis, near Cairo, to Tell Mahûta, near Ism'ailieh, has apparently been brought to anchor by Brugsch at Sân, or Zoan. Zoan is found to have existed in the time of the 6th Dynasty, but Brugsch finds it to have been called Pi Ramessu by Rameses II. The identification is not by any means complete, because the land of Raamses is mentioned in the Bible long before the Exodus (Gen. xlvii, 11–27), and the identification can hardly be reconciled with M. Naville's identification of Succoth at Tell Mahûta. One of the chief arguments in favour of the date proposed by Egyptologists for the Exodus is founded on the mention of Rameses as the starting-point (Exod. xii, 37, Num. xxxiii, 5), but the earliest mention of the land of Rameses in Genesis destroys much of the force of the argument, for no critic has as yet proposed to make the descent of Jacob into Egypt as late as the time of Miamun, the founder of Pi Ramessu. Mr. Poole has shown that the name Rameses was given to a prince before the time of Rameses I, and the worship of Ra—the midday sun—from whom the name Ra-meses, or "Servant of Ra," is derived, is very ancient in Egypt. It does not, therefore, appear to be quite certain that the Rameses of Exodus is Zoan, although the wording of the Psalm (lxxviii, 11) favours such a view.

Pithom (Exod. i, 11), that is, Pi-Tum, the city of Tum, the rising sun, was the second store city built by the Israelites, but it is not mentioned in the account of the Exodus, unless we suppose it to be Etham, which philologically would not be impossible. Herodotus knew of a Patumos which might very well be Pithom, near the canal from Bubastis to the Red Sea—that is, in or near Wâdy Tumeilât (ii, 158), and he calls it the Arabian city. The Antonine Itinerary, in the second century A.D., places Thou, or Thoum, fifty Roman miles from Heliopolis, and forty-eight from Pelusium. Both these notices would agree very fairly with M. Naville's discovery of Pithom at Tell Mahûta, where Linant placed Rameses, and where General Willis's headquarters and the Guards' brigade were posted until shortly before

the Tell el Kebîr battle. The time of my visit was not favourable to archæological purposes, but there were plain indications in the great sand mounds of works more ancient and formidable than those of Arabi's troops, and Necho's canal still exists as a fetid ditch south of the so-called Sweet Water Canal.

Succoth.—M. Naville also identifies the same site with Succoth, the Egyptian Thuku. The Nome of Thuku was the eighth, and Pithom was its capital; it is the later Sethroite nome, the capital of which was Heracleopolis Parva, according to Brugsch (ii, 340). This connection of Pithom and Succoth induces Brugsch to place Pithom north of the modern Kantarah, in order to agree with his theory of the Exodus. If Pithom and Succoth be identical, the latter is the Semitic or Hyksos name, meaning "tents."

Etham, according to Brugsch, is to be identified with an Egyptian Khetam, or "fortress," of which there appear to have been several. It may be objected that the Hebrew does not contain the guttural of the Egyptian, and the new site for Succoth will certainly not agree with the theory of Brugsch. The Khetam to which he refers is represented as a fortress astride a river, close to a city called Tabenet, or Dapeneh, which he supposes to be the Daphnai of Herodotus (ii, 30) near Pelusium, which is identified with the present Tell Defenneh, some twenty miles south-east of Zoan. Khetam of Menephtah is, however, mentioned in papyri of the 19th Dynasty as in the "land of Sukot," near Pitom, and "the lakes" of Pitom. It does not appear to be by any means certain that this is the Khetam of the land of Zal (or Zoan) which opened its gates to Rameses Miamun, whence he marched north through the desert to attack the Hittites; and Brugsch himself tells us that there were several such Khetams.

A good deal of stress has been laid by Brugsch on an Egyptian account of a journey in pursuit of runaway slaves in the time of Seti II ("Egypt under the Pharaohs," ii, 132). The writer starts from Zoan and reaches Thuku on the following day, and on the fourth he arrives at a certain Khetam, or "fortress," lying south of the former, north of which is a Migdol of King Seti. There is a curious parallelism of names, but there is no real identification deducible from this document with respect to the Exodus route, for, as we have seen, there were several Khetams, and there seem to have been also several Migdols, while the word Khetam is not of necessity the Hebrew Etham.

Migdol—"the tower"—is, like Succoth, a Semitic name, and the nomenclature of the eastern part of the Delta was in great part Semitic, for it was here that the Semitic Hyksos lived for five centuries, until expelled by the great 18th Dynasty. A Magdolum, twelve miles from Pelusium, on the route leading to the Serapeum, is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, which would be a little north of Kantarah. There was a Migdol of Seti, the name of which, according to Brugsch, was Samut, in the land of Hazian, and this he places at Tell Samût, near Kantarah, identifying the land of Hazian with the later Casius, near the Serbonian bog ("Egypt under the Pharaohs," i, 207). Samût is supposed to have been the Egyptian,

and Migdol the Semitic name of this site ; but we may note that Migdol is a name which, in hieroglyphic character, would not easily be distinguished from Miktor.

The Migdol of the Exodus (Exod. xiv, 2) was apparently near the sea (Yam Soph), and the Israelite camp was between the two. I noticed with great interest on the Staff Map of Egypt a Bir Mejdel marked north-east of Ism'ailieh. This may perhaps indicate the site of another Migdol, and the vicinity might with advantage be explored.

Pi-ha-Khiroth.—This is rendered by Brugsch (ii, 363) "entrance to the gulfs," but the public should be warned that Renouf has devoted a long and learned paper, printed in the "Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society" (November 7th, 1882), to this word, and that he has shown pretty conclusively that Dr. Brugsch's word Khiroth does not exist. Thus we fall back on the two earlier derivations given by Gesenius and other authorities, that from the Hebrew meaning "mouth of caverns," and that from the Coptic signifying "place of sedge." It is curious that the name of *Tell el Hîr* does not seem to have been connected by Brugsch with *Khiroth*, though it seems radically to represent the Hebrew. In the LXX the word επαυλεως ("farms," or "pastures") appears to represent Pi-ha-Khiroth. This would agree very well with the fact that the Israelites encamped at this spot, where they would have found pasture for their cattle. Brugsch makes Tell el Hîr to be the Hyksos Avaris, but if we take the Pi to be the same Egyptian prefix found in Pi Ramessu and Pithom, there is perhaps no reason why Pi-ha-Khiroth may not be the same as Avaris or Hawar.

Baal-Zephon ("Lord of the north," or of the "dark") is naturally to be connected with Typhon, or Tzephon, the dark Semitic enemy of Osiris. On Egyptian monuments, however, Baal-Zapuna is mentioned apparently as identical with Amon, "Lord of the North," and Brugsch suggests an identity with the later Jupiter Casius, and thus with the land of Hazion. The term Baal-Zephon might, on the other hand, be merely rendered "Ridge of the North." It is perhaps worthy of consideration, whether the name Bîrket Bâlah has any connection with this Semitic Baal, who like Set was no doubt a Hyksos divinity. Brugsch places Baal-Zephon at El Gelseh, but if this mound existed at the time of the Exodus, which could only be determined by a geological examination of the spot, it was probably as a rock in the sea, round which the shoals have since formed. If we were to accept the route proposed by Brugsch, the Israelites must have marched more than *forty miles* in a single day, which is an achievement never attained to by the picked infantry of Germany, over hard roads, and clearly impossible for a mixed multitude in the quicksands of the Gelseh shoal.

Yam Soph.—There has been a tendency among all writers, since Brugsch's theory was first published, to suppose that the Israelites crossed some part of the Mediterranean, and not, as previously supposed, over the Red Sea. It is therefore necessary to state clearly what is known as to the Yam Soph, which the Greek translators render Erythrean Sea.

The word *Soph* appears to be the Egytian *Tufi*, and applies to the "flags" among which the ark of bullrushes was laid (Exod. ii, 2). The bullrushes were papyrus plants, but the *Suph* may have been marine plants, or seaweeds, as pointed out by Canon Tristram, for the word is again used (Jonah ii, 5) in connection with the sea, "the weeds were wrapped about my head," evidently referring to algæ. The words *Gome* and *Akhu* are those which properly refer in the Bible to papyri and river vegetation.

The Yam Soph is a term applied in a later book of the Bible (1 Kings ix, 26) to the Gulf of Akabah ; but it is of more importance to our present subject to observe that Israel again camps by the Yam Soph (Num. xxxiii, 10) after leaving Elim on their way to Sinai. There is thus no escape possible from the fact that the Gulf of Suez, rather than any part of the Mediterranean, or its lagoons, is the sea intended in the account of the Exodus by the Hebrew Yam Soph, rightly paraphrased by the Greek translators as Erythrean or Red Sea.

A distinction has been drawn by some writers between the "sea" by which the Israelites encamped (Exod. xiv), and the Yam Soph. There is no doubt, however, that it was the Yam Soph in which the Egyptians were drowned, and which the Israelites crossed (Exod. xv, 4) ; and the distinction is not a very probable one, as the writer would perhaps have been more definite in his wording if he was speaking of two different seas.

As regards the "east wind" (Exod. xiv, 21) which divided the waters, it should also be noted that there is by no means a consensus of opinion as to the translation. The Hebrew root is קדם, which means "before," of time or place, and the meaning may perhaps be only "contrary" or "opposing." The Greek translation is "a south wind," and the Latin Vulgate has *urens*, or "burning." It is difficult to see how a due east wind, which is not generally a strong wind, can have affected either the Red Sea or the Mediterranean, which would be driven back by north and south winds respectively.

Marah.—This was the camp where bitter water was found by Israel, after three days' journey through the wilderness of Shur (Exod. xv, 22, 23), in a waterless tract. If Marah could be fixed we might have another indication of the line of passage. It is therefore worthy of notice that on the Staff Map of Egypt a *Bîr Murrah* is marked, east of Ism'ailieh, and on the Asiatic side of the canal. The modern name is identical with the Hebrew Marah, "bitter," and such wells are generally very ancient. Bîr Murrah is about twenty-five miles south of Kantarah, and this would represent quite a maximum three days' march for a mixed multitude who were short of water.

We have thus two sets of identifications to consider, belonging to two routes, one leading to Kantarah, and one to Ism'ailieh—the first being that advocated by Brugsch, and the second that noted in the valuable paper by Mr. Poole, in Smith's Bible Dictionary. These sites would be as follows :—

(Exod. xii, 37 ; xiii, 20 ; xiv, 2.) North Route.	South Route.
Rameses .... Sân (or Zoan).	—
Pithom —	Tell Mahûtah.
Succoth —	Tell Mahûtah.
Etham .... Khetam (Tell Defenneh).	
Pi-ha-hiroth .... Gelseh Hameideh (Brugsch), Tell el Hir? (C.R.C.)	—
Migdol .... Tell Samût (Brugsch).	Bîr Mejdel? (C.R.C.)
Baal-Zephon .... Gelseh (Brugsch).	—
Yam Soph.... .... Lagoon of Gelseh (Brugsch).	Birket Timsah.
Marah .... Bîr Murrah? (C.R.C.)	Bitter Lakes or 'Ayûn Mûsa.

Such appears to be the present state of our information as to the two routes. I would not venture to express an opinion between authorities like Brugsch and Poole, but one or two notes may be added which, with the three suggestions above given as to Pi-ha-khiroth, Migdol, and Marah, may perhaps be useful in further discussion of the question.

In the first place, the Israelites started from Rameses, and journeyed to Succoth (Exod. xii, 37) apparently in one day. Now if Succoth be really Tell Mahûtah, it seems quite impossible to suppose that the Rameses of this passage is Zoan or Pi-Ramessu, which lies thirty-five miles north of Tell Mahûtah, a distance far too great for a single day's journey of a mixed multitude ; the road leading, moreover, for more than half the distance over a waterless desert.

If we accept the south route we must either seek for a second Rameses, perhaps older than the time of Rameses Miamun, or we must consider merely the "land of Raamses" to be intended (Gen. xlvii, 11), a district equivalent to Goshen.

Secondly, it must be confessed that Brugsch's identifications of Etham, Migdol, Pi-ha-hiroth, and Baal-Zephon cannot be considered to be very convincing. They are no doubt possible (save the last), and agree together fairly, giving journeys of ten miles per diem as far as Etham, but afterwards becoming quite out of all possibility in distance.

Thirdly, a great deal hinges on the expression, "turn and encamp before Pi-ha-hiroth" (Exod. xiv, 2). This site cannot have been more than about twenty miles from Succoth, and ten from Etham, and the definition would suggest its close proximity to Baal-Zephon and Migdol, which Brugsch entirely neglects, placing Pi-ha-hiroth fifteen miles from his Migdol, and thirty miles from his Baal Zephon, which would be like defining Tunbridge as between London and Hastings—not a very minute topographical indication. Now the word "turn," though rendered also "turn back" by the Greek translators, appears to come from the root שוב, which means to

"abide" or "inhabit," and if we were to render it "stay and encamp," the meaning would perhaps be more accurately conveyed. This is, however, a question to be decided by a Hebrew scholar, and is only indicated here as one for examination.

The two routes thus appear each to have arguments in their favour, but the general impression which a study of the ground, and of what has been written, has made upon me, is that the southern route is the most probable. If we could find Etham near Nefîsheh, and if we have a survival of the name Migdol in Bîr Mejdel, then the route of the Israelites will prove to have been down Wâdy Tumeilât, from the land of Rameses, through Pithom or Succoth.

The *Gisr*, or "isthmus," north of Ism'ailieh, is about fifty feet above sea-level. It seems to be the nucleus of the isthmus, and it may have existed at the time of the Exodus, separating the Mediterranean from the Yam Soph, or "weedy sea," a swamp formed near Ism'ailieh, where the Tumeilât branch of the river was perhaps still pouring its mud into the Red Sea. If this isthmus existed we can have no hesitation in accepting the Tumeilât route, and in discarding all ideas of a connection with the Mediterranean. If it did not, lagoons and swamps may have connected the Red Sea and Mediterranean, and the precarious crossing through these might have occurred near Kantarah, in which case it might be just possible to place Pi-ha-hiroth at Tell Hîr. It seems, on the whole, more probable that pastures near the Nile mouth not far from Ism'ailieh are intended, and that Baal-Zephon is to be sought south-east of Birket Balah.

There are two important notes to be finally considered. The first in Exodus xiii, 17, the second in Exodus xiv, 3. The first states that "God led the people about through the way of the Yam Soph," "God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near." The second states that "Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, they are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in." Both these statements appear to me to favour the southern route. The way to the land of the Philistines was, without doubt, that from Zoan to Kantarah, and thence to Gaza, which is still the road to Syria, the only line which can be followed, because there are wells along it, and one which was probably not far from the Mediterranean shore at the time of the Exodus, when Zoan and Daphnai were almost seaports. This route *was* near to the Israelites in Zoan, it was the direct one to Syria, and a very possible one even if they were going to Sinai.

The second passage came vividly to my mind in advancing to Kassasin. There was wilderness on either hand, and if we could have been driven from the Sweet Water Canal we should indeed have been "entangled in the land," shut in as we were in the desert. The mixed host, if it went out along Wâdy Tumeilât by a branch perhaps of the Nile, *were* going by the way of the Yam Soph. They had their enemies behind, or perhaps north-west of them, and a forced march from Pi-Ramessu and Salahîyeh would have enabled the Egyptians to seize the head of the gulf, as then existing at Ism'ailieh, and to drive the poor fugitives into the sea which was in

front of them; for the chariots and chariot horses (wrongly rendered horsemen) of Pharaoh could have covered the ground at least twice as fast as the women, children, flocks and herds of Israel.

As we went up the canal we witnessed an Exodus which had something in common with that of Israel. The poor peasants of Port Said and Ism'ailieh had been taught to expect every sort of outrage from the ferocious Franjis. Even when they learned the humanity of the English they were still (as they assured me) "only afraid of the *booms*," or cannon shot. The women, with great bundles on their heads, their blue robes tucked up, their babies hung behind them in their veils; aged men helped by their sons; the family property on a little donkey; the weeping children and the hungry-looking men, recalled strangely the idea of that motley host which accompanied the armed men of Israel; and the slow progress of the departing Fellahin, even though left quite uninjured by our troops, gave a practical example of the impossibility of Brugsch's theory of a forty mile march. With the chariots of Pharaoh dashing over the pebbly desert to the north, or down the valley behind; with sand dunes covered only with dry tussocks of grass to north and south, with the swampy river-mouth in front and the sea to the right, the yellow hills of the wilderness beyond the sea, the dry wind from the north-east burning their lips, what position could have been humanly more hopeless than that of the children of Israel when Moses "stretched out his hand over the sea?"

Claude R. Conder, *Captain R.E.*

II.

When one has read Mr. Scarth's pleasing paper (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1882) on the "Route of the Exodus," has one arrived at any probable conclusion as to that route? I think not. The suggestion is, doubtless, a novelty—that the course of the Israelites from the encampment near Migdol was *westward*. Naturally, therefore, the question may be asked, Where would they be supposed to be going? Such a course is neither the "way of the wilderness," nor that road to Palestine which is called "the way of the land of the Philistines." So much light is being thrown gradually on this not unimportant biblical subject, that one almost wishes a sort of standard might be set up—a literary Nilometer—to show how far we had safely got in our investigations from time to time.

As one reads, for instance, Herr Brugsch's essay on "The Exodus and the Egyptian Monuments" (1874), and Mr. Greville Chester's paper (1880), one thinks such antagonists can never come to terms. The addenda and notes to either production show how little space of real difference lies between the two historians.

Now there are very reasonable geographical boundaries to the subject, viz., "Ramses" and "the wilderness of Sin." There are boundaries also in *time* for the passage between these two places,—"and all the congrega-

tion of the children of Israel came into the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt" (Exod. xvi, 1).

Much has to be accomplished by the historical inquirer, however, within these boundaries. One asks first, What was the object of their whole journey? God told Moses that He would deliver His people out of the affliction of Egypt, and bring them up into a good land, specially Canaan "The Lowlands"). To Moses, doubting his own power, God promised a sign, viz., that the Israelites should worship Him in Horeb.

To reach Canaan from the Delta of Egypt there seem to have been two great roads in frequent use—though there may have been, and most likely were, caravan routes used at certain seasons of the year. Starting both of them from the royal and central city of Tanis (the modern Sân), the one led by Pithom and Pelusium, and then along the course which Mr. Chester followed, keeping the shore side of Mount Casius, to El Arish; the other through the Succoth district to Khetam and Migdol, and then passing (as does the short desert route now) to the south of the Serbonian Lake, bore up north-east to El Arish. These two routes, but especially the latter, must have been well constructed roads. Armies like those of Seti I, setting out, with chariots and all the impedimenta of war, to fight against the Shasu and Kharu warriors, from a country in a proper state of defence, with protecting and corresponding towers and fortresses along its frontiers, would be sure to be able to commence its march along military roads. Ramses II would not neglect in any way the defence of his frontier on the eastern side, or the communication between his fortresses. Besides this, the great roads leading to the country of the Khita, and those leading through the south and right away to the Euphrates, would be regarded as international undertakings, essential to the development of commerce.

We know from the letters of the court scribes, written from Pi-Ramessu (Tanis), that the celebrated treaty of peace between Ramses II and the King of the Khita was regarded as an epoch in the world's history. One may then conclude that Ramses's reign reached the summit of its glory when this great alliance was formed, and that at this time probably the new city of Pi-Ramessu, adjoining the old Zoan (Tanis of the Greeks), or Zor, and looking over those wide plains and lagoons which Mr. Macgregor so well described in "Rob Roy on the Jordan," as far back as 1868, was built. At Zoan (Zor) we stand on very firm ground. This, the ancient capital of the Hyksos kings, had been abandoned by the kings of the 18th Dynasty, the regenerators of Egypt, but had been again exalted to capital rank by the clever Ramses II. Not that he merely resuscitated Zor, or Zoru (the "strong" place, or places), the central post of those many fortifications which give the name Muzur, or Mazor ("fortified") to the whole district, but he built close to it another city—Pi-Ramessu ("the city of Ramses"), and there he established a fresh "cult," that of "Sutekh, or Baal," a deity of the Hyksos kings—whose blood probably ran in his veins.

This new city, with its marvellous temples, the tributary Israelites—

quartered near to it in the land of Goshen—helped to build. Here Moses faced the proud Pharaoh of his day, and hence went up the first notes of that terrible great cry which told of the execution of the judgment of Jehovah.

We know that the Israelities dwelt in the midst of and mingled with the Egyptians, else there had been no need to mark their houses with the blood ; and it is not far-fetched to suppose that there had been for some time, since the day when Moses and Aaron first appealed to them, an excited longing for liberation and freedom amongst the twelve clans. In the treaty (already alluded to) between Ramses and the Khita, there is a curious allusion to runaways and fugitives from Egypt, who might be caught in the Khita country, and their extradition. One may almost imagine that even then there were signs of a coming rising on the part of some distressed tributary people.

Are we obliged to allow only three days after leaving their homes before the Israelites make their encampment at Pihahiroth ? The Bible account does not say so ! Still, as Brugsch has shown, the encampments successively mentioned agree wonderfully well with the stations mentioned in the Report of a certain scribe sent out to retake two fugitive servants, of which he gives us a translation. The writer lived at Pi-Ramessu, and wrote in the reign of Mineptah III (*circ.* 1266 B.C.). The stations mentioned by him are the "fortress or barrier of Thuku" (Sukoth), in one day's journey, and "Khetam," after two days. At Khetam the scribe receives news that the fugitives have already passed the "rampart" to the north of the Migdol of King Seti Mineptah. Now I don't think this "Report" proves anything as to the course taken by the writer on his journey one way or the other, or as to the time spent. What he writes suggests, possibly, that he first took the upper road from the royal city towards Pitom, then turned south and came into the great royal road at one of its stations, "Khetam," where further and perhaps conclusive news of the fugitives was received. Still it gives us "Etham" and "Migdol," and it mentions, too, that the report which settled the course of the fugitives came from men who had come from the "sedge city (city of Suf)."

What has been learned about Succoth then ? The ancient divisions of Egypt—beyond that division with which all the royal buildings and tombs make the most unlearned traveller in Egypt so familiar, "Upper" and "Lower"—were retained by the Greek conquerors, and called "nomes," distinguished from each other by names which were supposed to translate the Egyptian designations into words harmonised to the Greek ear. In the "Sethroitic" nome, the north-easterly division of Lower Egypt, was preserved the Egyptian word which signified "the region of the river mouth," and was applied to the whole region of the north-east Delta. The capital of this nome Brugsch thinks to have been Pitom (the "Heracleopolis Parva" of the Greeks), which, as though there were more than one, is distinguished as "Pitom in the country of Sukot." The whole of this district, the eastern border-land, was full of lakes and waters, and these, we may be certain, have changed in form and volume in the intervening centuries, owing to the neglect or destruction

of dykes, canals, &c. It formed the camping ground of various aggressive tribes from the East, and derived its foreign name, "Suko" or "Sukot" (Thuku or Thukot), meaning a "tent" or "tent camp," from this fact. In a letter quoted by Brugsch (vol. i, 247) there is a report of an inferior officer as to the permitting Bedawîn of Edom to pass through the fortress, "Khetam of King Mineptah-Hotephimaat" (Mineptah II), situated in the land of Sukot, near the lakes of the city of Pitom, which is situated in the land of Sukot, in order to pasture their flocks, &c., on the lands of Pharaoh. The administration of these eastern marches is clearly set forth in the Egyptian papyri, having its bureau at the royal city Pi-Ramessu; and the foreign people again were under the control of regularly appointed officers of their own, who were responsible, we may suppose, to the central Government of the country.

Succoth, then, suggests a "region," rather than any one city; and at some fixed point in that region we may suppose the Israelites to have rallied when Moses sent out his final summons from Pi-Ramessu, and there to have made their first encampment.

For "Etham" we may require some more definite localisation. The children of Israel are to be led to the land of the people called "Canaanites;" the great royal road, made famous as a road of victory in the annals of the kings of the 19th Dynasty, leads there.

Brugsch, without hesitation, assimilates the Egyptian word Khetam (a "fortress") with the Bible name Etham. Of this Khetam, situated in the province of Zor, there is a representation on the walls of the Great Hall of Seti I at Karnak. The city appears built on both sides of a river (the Pelusiac branch of the Nile probably), and these two portions are connected by a bridge. Hard by is the town "Tabenet," for which the Greeks found a name, Daphnai, perpetuated in the Tel-Defenneh of to-day, with its ancient canal, and the ruined town beyond this canal. Mr. Chester has fully described Tel-Defenneh (Dephneh) and its surroundings: he has pointed out the ancient dyke leading across the artificial lake to the west of the Tel, in the direction of Pi-Ramses, an easy two days' journey, its commanding position on the "edge of the wilderness," and then its propinquity, less than a day's journey, to the spot which he takes to be Migdol.

El-Kantâra, on the canal, is evidently an ancient place, and its name (the "bridge," or "ford") suggests that in this very name we have preserved for us sufficient evidence that here was the highway by which the Egyptians passed on through swamp and intricate country to Syria. A direct line makes it about ten miles from Tel-Dephneh to Kantâra. There are ruins very near Kantâra, which seem to Mr. Chester to be those of Migdol, as probably as those suggested by Brugsch, hard by Tel-es-Samût. But still more does Tel-el-Hîr seem to him to be, from its position commanding the marshes, and from the extent of the ruins (amongst which are the remains of a massive tower), the likely Migdol. Migdol means "tower," and we know, both from the monuments and from the Bible (cf. the proper reading in the margin of Ezek. xxix, 10), that, like as

in the case of "from Dan to Beersheba," "from Migdol to Syene" described popularly the boundaries of Egyyt.

Brugsch places at Tel-el-Hîr, quoting from Lepsius, Ha-u'ar ("the house of the leg," a name found in other parts of Egypt, and connected with the worship of the leg of "Osiris"), and points out Ha-u'ar's positive identity with Avaris, the great frontier city of the Hyksos kings, where was fought the battle which resulted in the expulsion of the Hyksos kings from Egypt.

Brugsch goes further than this, and argues the probability of this Hau'ar being the "Baal-Zephon" of the Bible—"Sutekh," the tutelary god of the Hyksos, being the same as the Phœnician "Baal." If this be so, we may place, *conjecturally*, Pihahiroth (the word means "entrance to the gulfs") near, opposite to, in the face of, "Baal-Zephon," and find Migdol near to or at El-Kantâra;—or might we not suppose Migdol to be the tower of some outlying work protecting Baal-Zephon?

To-day, as one steams up the canal to Port Said, it is difficult looking westward to distinguish Lake Menzaleh from the Mediterranean, or, as one gets beyond Kantâra, to settle for one's self, looking away towards the north-east, where to place the coast-line of the long-wished-for sea. The brightness of the air and the glare on the sand doubtless add to the confusion of objects. Still I fancy that there must have been always such an intricate spreading out of lagoons and shallows and marshy lands to the east of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and just within the boundaries of the shores of the Mediterranean (from which the Tels and Gebels would rise like islands), that the term "sea" might come to have a somewhat indefinite application.

If Baal-Zephon be the same as Ha-u'ar, and if this again agrees with Avaris, I think that much stress should be laid on the inscription in the tomb at El-Kab (Upper Egypt) of the Aahmes family. The inscription, as translated by Brugsch (vol. i, 283), tells us this:—He was a captain of the sailors to the king who founded the 18th Dynasty, and who roused Upper Egypt to war against the aggressive foreigners, the Hyksos, who had so long held Lower Egypt. I have alluded already to the capture of Avaris. Avaris, Takem, and Sherohan are all mentioned as towns besieged and captured. But of the battle at Avaris it is said that they fought *on the lake Pazet-ku*.

But where are the Israelites? It is after their encampment at Etham that they are told to *turn*. But which way? I suppose we may accept the verdict of critics who see in Exodus xiii, 17, 18, the hand of a later compiler annotating Moses's narrative. His explanation then would run thus:—"The march of the Israelites was commenced along the 'way of the land of the Philistines.' They marched in military order. God, however, altered their course, so that they turned out of the royal road, with its stations and fortresses all in due state of defence against incursions of Phœnicians or Arabs, and He led them through the wilderness of the Red Sea." It is this turn, either at or after Migdol is passed, towards Pihahiroth—"the entrance of the gulfs" (which, I take it, was situated on a road leading up

from Memphis to the north-east, and running parallel with the canal, by which Aahmes would advance in his ship against Avaris, the canal of which we have such good evidence in somewhat later times)—which would suggest to Pharaoh their entanglement in the land. The road was an intricate one, owing to the nature of the ground, and beyond this watered country, running down into it, was the desert—that feature of the whole land of Egypt which is most remarkable. What Jehovah did for His people is, I think, described in Exodus xiv, 16. The lost way does not matter; a new road is made through the midst of the sea, the waters are divided, and Israel goes through on dry ground.

If one takes Israel northward from Kantâra and encamps them where Mr. Scarth places them (a distance of over twenty miles), and then does not adopt *his* proposed route, but a route which allows Mount Casius to be Baal-Zephon,—although by Mr. Chester's help we may understand far better the machinery of the miracle,—we are almost forced to turn them back after the destruction of the Egyptians along the same route. As an alternative we may take them past Mount Casius (the causeway along the shore not being broken through as Mr. Chester found it to be), between the Mediterranean and Lake Serbonis, make them double Lake Serbonis, and then, pursuing the line taken now by caravans from Cairo to Gaza, come into such a track as that by which we are led in "Eothen" from Suez to Gaza. Between the going out from Pi-Ramessu to the destruction of the Egyptians, and from that morning till the encampment was made in the wilderness of Sin, there is an abundance of time for marching and counter-marching. One need not put much pressure, then, on one's self in this respect—our difficulties are all topographical. This portion of the journey may be called the "Red Sea portion," of which the boundaries are conjectural as to localisation.

I do not see why we should regard the narrative in Exodus as continuous. For instance, I think that an entirely fresh paragraph commences after the account of Miriam's song (Exod. xv, 21). There is in the life of the people a new departure from the "great overthrow of Pharaoh." The corresponding passage (Num. xxxiii, 6–9) is confusing, as also is the designation "wilderness of Shur" (the name of that district through which the Egyptian Hagar passed when she fled from Sarai, and in which is placed the well Beer-lahai-roi). Who is the writer of Numbers xxxiii? Is he not a different person from the author of Exodus xiii, and from the author of Exodus xv? Between the author of Exodus xv, 22, and the author of Numbers xxxiii, 8, there is in common, however, a certain "three days in the wilderness," and from the narrator in Exodus we gather that they were marked and made memorable by scarcity of water. It is at Marah *after* "the wilderness" that we reach a definite place.

May we not, then, legitimately look to the other terminus of this portion of the journey, and see whether we have any certain points to make *from?* And may we not do well to take as a guide here the lamented Professor Palmer? The object of Moses is now to reach Horeb. The wilderness of Sin was reached, we know, one month after the departure from Ramses?

Professor Palmer gives us ("Desert of the Exodus," vol. I, chap. xiv) the conclusions arrived at by the members of the "Sinai Expedition," 1868–9. I do not know whether he modified his views as to the starting-point of the Israelites; I lay stress only on his itinerary for them from Ayún Músa.

They are moving from the Red Sea: Ayún Músa, with its ancient traditions, is a halting-place (on a straight line it would be about sixty-five miles from El Kantâra). What does one see as one looks northward, with one's back to the blue water of the Gulf of Suez, towards the desert and the desolate lines of Jebels er Ráhah and Et Tih? The "wall-like escarpments" are the *salient features* of the landscape, and we need not wonder at the name "Shur" (in Hebrew signifying "a wall") being given to this track of the desert.

For three days from the "Wells of Moses," the ordinary traveller with baggage has to traverse a waterless region, till he comes to a small clump of dwarf palms, looking in the distance merely like a single bush, which overshadow Ain Hawwárah, a small pool with no water fit to drink. At a distance of two or three hours in a southerly direction you come, however, to the green tamarisks and grand old palm-trees of Wâdy Gharandel, and its perennial stream! Here or hereabouts Elim may be placed, and the present fertility of the spot, in the midst of a district which neglect and the destruction of vegetation tends to render dry and barren, is almost a guarantee for the antiquity of this fertility. The Israelites removed from "Elim" and encamped by the "Red Sea." It is exactly what one does now-a-days! If one chooses the Wâdy Feirán route to Sinai, one crosses from Wâdy Gharandel into the beautiful Wâdy Taiyebeh, and, without over fatigue, on the same day one gets to the sea-shore a little north of Rás Abu Zenímeh, having turned the black headland of Jebel Hammân Far'ún ("Pharaoh's hot bath"). This strip of desert, fringing the coast south of Wâdy Taiyebeh, may reasonably be taken for the "wilderness of Sin."

Making these remarks I don't lose out of sight that the whole narrative would be simpler if from Etham we could bring the Israelites by Lakes Balâh and Timsâh to the Bitter Lakes, and place the passage of the sea somewhere in the neighbourhood of Suez. Only as yet I do not think that we have got satisfactory sites for "Pihahiroth" and "Baal-Zephon," even if there would be no great risk in imagining a "Migdol" in these parts. The starting-points of the Exodus I think we have found, and I think that Professor Palmer has given us firmness of footing for the "wilderness of Sin." Little by little we may come to learn more of the Exodus, giving due weight to every reasonable theory which may be put forth, and not trying to make what *we* think should have been harmonise with what really was.

C. Pickering Clarke.

III.

The following letter was written and published in the year 1869, on the author's return from a journey to Sinai:—

"I thought that all well-informed persons, who had turned their attention to the subject, were convinced by this time that Cairo had nothing to do with the passage of the Israelites. Avaris was the Zoan of the Pharaohs, and the capital, at least during harvest, of the provinces of Lower Egypt. But every traveller does not go into Lower Egypt, and but few examine the frontier of Goshen, which Robinson long ago identified with the modern province of Shurkeeyeh. Consequently, we still have 'travellers' who try hard to believe that the great event took place at that part of the Red Sea which they saw with their own eyes at Suez. This easy theory is supported by swallowing Mohammedan traditions and names, which are just as worthless in Sinai as data for Scriptural topography, as Popish traditions and names are in Palestine. The 'Valley of the Wandering,' south of Cairo, and the mountain of Attaka, had no more to do with the passage of Israel than Marylebone Lane and Primrose Hill; and if people would but stick to their Bibles instead of servilely following Josephus and the Mohammedans, we should never have heard a word about the Israelites being impeded, 'entangled,' 'shut in,' or turned, by a mountain at all. Even if Holy Scripture had said they were entangled by a mountain, it could not possibly have been Attaka: for they could not have reached it in time, and if they had, it could never have 'entangled' anybody. Your correspondent says he examined it, but the value of his examination is not great, if he did not discover that the mountain does *not* run down sheer into the sea, as it appears to do from Ayun Moosa, but leaves, between its foot and the sea, a level much-used road, a quarter of a mile broad at its narrowest part, and which consequently could not 'entangle' or even hinder any number of fugitives from whichever side they approached it. The idea that they came from Cairo is to be similarly accounted for. 'Travellers' come from Cairo, and *therefore* (for there is no other reason whatever) the Israelites came from Cairo. Zoan, now called San, lies far out of the route, or rut, of such travellers, and *therefore*, in dragoman's logic, could have had nothing to do with it.

"But granting that Zoan was Avaris, and that Abou Kesheyd in the Tumeylatt, was, as Lepsius has shown, the approximate site of Raamses, we have the true starting-point, and the whole narrative, examined on the spot, becomes easily intelligible. Leaving that rendezvous for the Highlands of the Patriarchs, the Israelites struck east by north, or east-north-east by the ordinary way from Egypt to Palestine. On reaching the edge of the desert, near the Serapeion on the Watershed, south of Timsah, they were 'turned' by command, and consequently got on the western shore of that arm of the Red Sea which then ran up near to that point. There they were surrounded by the salt lakes, mirages, marshes, and moving sands, which still 'entangle' any man who wanders in that region. They spread themselves along the shore, weary, disorganised, and confused. There they were overtaken by the angry king. No doubt he had attempted to intercept their north-eastward march by running his chariots into the desert by the Kantâra route, and finding the people had turned southward, he exclaimed that they were entangled by the quicksands,

and following joyfully he came up with them late that evening on the shore.

"At or about fifteen miles north of Suez there runs out towards the desert the only bluff on that whole frontier, Gebel Geneffa, on which the Migdol, or watchtower, would naturally stand to guard the country; near it, the Bible tells us, was Baal-Zephon, and exactly indicated by these marks near the station of Chalouf en Terraba, as I have no doubt, the great deliverance took place. Not, indeed, as depicted in our nurseries, in a long narrow passage across a sea eight miles wide, as at Ayun Moosa, which would have occupied a week at least, but, as afterwards at Jordan, by the drying up of so many miles of the narrow arm of the sea as would permit the vast and disorderly host to rush across, 'broadside on,' in the short time they had to do it in, 'before the morning.' The other stations now all fall into their proper places. Exactly 'three days' journey' brings them to the only *heated* water, or sweet wells, on this coast of the peninsula, not the bitter puddle of Ain Howâra, which is the 'Marah' of travellers, but the rich fresh-water stores of Abou Soueyra. One whole day's journey more, and Gurundel and Oosait are reached. Almost all allow these to represent Elim. The 'encampment by the sea,' at Abou Zuleema, has never afforded room for controversy. From thence, another difficult and therefore short day's march, round the tide-washed bluff, and they enter the pasturages of 'Sin.' Dophka then followed, *i.e.*, the plain, in the lower part of the Wâdy Feiran, near the sea, where, then as now, 'there was no water.' Alush, also waterless, would be that great plain at the entrance to the granite district of Horeb, where the Amalekite defile begins, with its easily identified hill (not mountain), standing athwart the valley, from which Moses, Aaron, and Hur watched the fight; and at the end of the defile, the oasis of Rephidim, or Feiran proper, watered by the streams which drain Alayatt and the northern slopes of Serbal. From thence it is just one day's journey from one gate to the other, along the Wâdy el Sheykh; and after passing the Ootaieyeh gate, they were *in* the Midbar, or 'pasturage' of Sinai, under which, in the plain of Er Raha, they assembled 'on the third day.' It is of no use referring to maps, for not one of them is worth a rush.[1]

"F. Gell."

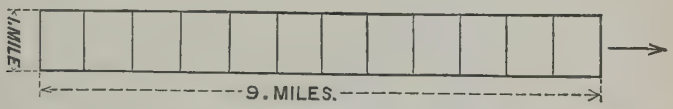
IV.

I have read Canon Scarth's article in the *Quarterly Statement* with much interest, and all the more from having recently made the march from Ismailya to Cairo. I have worked out the subject, and find that the march could have been accomplished without difficulty in the way suggested; of course I do not absolutely accept the theory, as one would not like to do that without a careful examination of the argumentson both sides.

[1] P.S.—March 25th, 1883. This could not be said now; but it was true fourteen years ago, when this letter was written, that not one map of Sinai existed worth anything. Subsequent investigations have confirmed the view of the route of Israel here indicated.—F. G.

I do not think it would be fair to assume that the tribes marched in a compact mass, and, for the moment, I take the number as given in Exodus, *i.e.*, 600,000, or an average of 50,000 to each tribe.

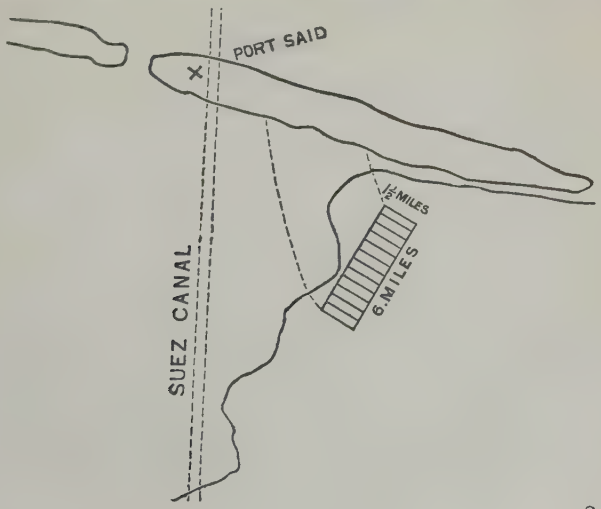
An English regiment of 1,000 men can be *camped* on an area of 320 yards by 150 yards, with their baggage, &c. A similar space is of course ample to allow the same number of men to *march in*, allowing for a considerable amount of straggling, and therefore the whole of the tribes could march or camp on an area of nine miles in length by one mile in width thus :—



This does not seem too large a space to allow, considering the nature of the people, and the certainty that they must have had transport animals with them to carry food and water.

The first day's march, from Zoan to Succoth, would be about fifteen miles ; the second, from Succoth to Etham (a little beyond Kantara), rather more than the same distance.

Here it is assumed that the column turned northwards instead of following what was then, and is to this day, the direct road to Palestine. Pharaoh and the Egyptians had heard of the flight, but were still at least one march in rear. Another day's march brought the tribes to the eastern side of the lake, and here, no doubt, with the rumour that the Egyptians were in pursuit, it is probable that the wanderers would have closed in, and the column, when they halted for the third night, have assumed a deeper and broader form. I have carefully measured the distance on the map



published by the Intelligence Department, and there is plenty of room for the column so formed to encamp, or rather bivouac : for it appears to have been the same night that the alarm came from the rear, and the advance was ordered. Each tribe would then move to its left, and wheel a quarter circle to the right, passing into the dry ground, as the east wind drove away the lake westward. The passage of so large a body of men and animals would doubtless cut up the surface, and it would scarcely come within the category of a miracle if Pharaoh's chariots were unable to cross the bed of the lake and were overwhelmed by the returning water. There would be plenty of room for the whole Israelite force on the bank of sand. There is to my mind one difficulty : when the west wind blew, and the sea returned to its place, I do not see how the people could have regained the road to Etham, unless the sea again partially went to the westward.

If the large scale map published by the Intelligence Department is consulted, the whole thing comes out very plainly. In this map there is a Bir Murra, marked a little to the north-east of the Bitter Lakes, which would agree with the position given to Marah according to Canon Scarth's theory of the Exodus.

Of course, if it is assumed that the numbers given in Exodus are too great, the whole matter would be still simpler.

I have no doubt that there is a vast deal of interesting information to be obtained from a careful exploration of the south shores of Lake Menzaleh, and, so far as I know, it has not up to the present been investigated as it deserves. Perhaps after the Palestine Exploration Fund has completed its survey of the East side of Jordan, it may be able to get funds to extend its researches into the parts of Egypt which are more particularly connected with the history of the Jewish people.

C. M. W.

NOTES.

Kadesh on Orontes.—I have not yet been able to write on this subject, but would wish to note that the objections raised by my friend Rev. H. G. Tomkins to the new site are based on the supposition that the Lake of Koteineh existed in the time of Rameses II. The lake is artificial, and depends on the great dam, which has all the appearance of Roman work. According to the Talmud the lake was made by a Roman emperor, and I see no reason for doubting this assertion. There is no mention of any lake in the account of the attack on Kadesh itself, nor do the Egyptian pictures appear to give any representation of the lake. They speak only of the river Orontes, and show Kadesh between that river and the affluent on the north—just as Tell Neby Mendeh is situated at the old site of *Kedes*. As regards the name Mendeh, or Mendau (as Robinson calls it), it seems possibly to be derived from the name of the Egyptian deity, Mentu or Mando, the war-god whom Rameses invokes in the epic of Pentaur. I may also note that the name of the Hittites seems to survive in Tell Hetteh, in the valley of the Eleutherus, west of Kadesh on Orontes.

The following points in the *Quarterly* for October, 1882, I have been unable, through duty and illness, to attend to previously.

Jannes and Jambres, p. 234.—The occurrence of the name of Moses in documents of the 19th Dynasty in Egypt is not considered by Egyptologists to have any connection with the great lawgiver. Canon Scarth will find, by reference to the able paper at the end of Vol. I of the "Speaker's Commentary," that the views of Mr. Dunbar Heath were considered by Egyptological authorities many years ago and were then rejected. The name Moses seems probably to be of Egyptian derivation, signifying "water-child," and the early chapters of Exodus (as well as those in Genesis and in Job referring to Egyptian matters) have been shown to be full of Egyptian words. The name Moshi, in Egyptian papyri, and applying to an island, is probably connected with Horus the rising sun, represented as coming out of the water, rather than with any historic personage. In the same paper the story of Perseus and Andromeda is referred to Egypt. The Æthiopians of Herodotus, however, were found in the east as well as in Africa, and the tale is connected with Joppa, where Andromeda is supposed to have been bound. It is considered to be a sun-myth by the school of Max Müller, and Erythras, in this case "the ruddy one," is probably the rising sun. The name red is often given to solar heroes, as, for instance, in the case of the Indian Rohita.

Asheroth.—It was not my intention to convey the idea that the Asherah was of stone. It is well known to have been of wood. It is supposed to have been similar to the sacred tree of the Assyrian monuments, the emblem of *Asshur*, and its lineal descendant—though not exactly similar in form—is the maypole. The *Metzeb*, or "pillar," was the stone monument (cf. Levit. xxvi, 1).

The Garrison.—I ought to thank my friend, the Rev. W. F. Birch (p. 266), for correcting me on this point. The words, however, are connected, and the Hebrew *Metzeb* becomes *Nusb* in Arabic.

It is quite true, as stated by Mr. Birch, that the word in 1 Sam. xiii, 3 and 4 is נציב, and it is rendered "pillar" in the Speaker's Commentary. It would, however, have been more satisfactory if Mr. Birch had also stated that the word rendered "garrison" in five other instances in this episode, is as I stated, מצב (viz.: in xiii, 23; xiv, 1, 11, 12, 15); the latter word is rendered "pillar" in other passages of the Old Testament.

Mr. Birch does not agree to my view that Jonathan insulted a Philistine sacred *stele* because of the words "and there was a trembling in the host, in the field, and among *all the people*, *the garrison* and the spoilers they also trembled, and the earth quaked so it was a very great trembling," (xiv, 15). Mr. Birch says "the vibrations of a pillar cannot here be recorded." It is evident, however, that the writer represents man and nature trembling equally, and if there was an earthquake the Menhir would certainly have rocked. It is, however, possible that the words "all the people: the garrison" should be rendered otherwise (העם המצב), meaning "all the people *of* the pillar"—that is, the defenders of the boundary stele. Thus the only objections raised to the proposed explanation of the word rendered "garrison" seem to be removed.

Holy oil.—The authority for the statement in the "Handbook to the Bible" is not stated as clearly as it should be. It is, as said at the beginning of the paragraph, Maimonides commenting on Keritoth. The statement must be taken for what it is worth, but Maimonides is a very careful authority, and his statements are generally based on older authority.

Rude Stone Monuments.—I hope to be able to write more fully on this question later. A great deal of light is thrown on the subject by a study of Indian monuments, and of traditions connected with cromlechs and menhirs. There is plenty of evidence of sepulture in dolmens, where covered with cairns; but there is also plenty of sound evidence connecting cromlechs, circles, and menhirs, with sun-worship and nature-worship, and existing customs prove this beyond reasonable doubt. These monuments are of many ages, and are still erected by Arabs and Hindus, as well as by Polynesians, and are found in all parts of the world, including North and South America. Great circles were used as meeting places and council places; heroes were buried in such sacred spots; but, nevertheless, the evidence of sacrifices having been offered, and observations of sunrise having been connected with menhirs, is quite as full and sound as that connected with the sepulchral theory; and the connection in the Bible between early worship and circles, menhirs, and dolmens is sufficiently clear.

Rock Rimmon.—I should be much obliged for further information as to the name *Rummâr*, or *Rummân*, collected by Mr. Rawnsley. The care which he took to avoid leading questions, and the assistance of so excellent a guide as the late Mr. Selami, makes the collection of the name valuable. I have not, however, been able to find out where it applies, or what is the proper form of the word, whether with N or R at the end. My guide in 1881, when I re-visited this valley, did not know this name, even though I asked for it, and although he gave me nearly all the other names collected by Mr. Rawnsley and a few besides. The word *Rummân*, meaning "pomegranate," is common in Palestine—indeed is one of the commonest of the descriptive names in the Survey lists.

Mount Ephron (*Quarterly*, 1883, p. 52), Mr. Birch seems to identify with Ephrath. It may be noted, however, that the words are radically different, viz.:—עפרון and אפרת. It is, therefore, not a mere question of termination.

C. R. C.

NOTE ON THE "KEY TO EZEKIEL'S PROPHETIC DIVISIONS."

(*See Map of W. Palestine, Special Edition, illustrating Old Testament.*)

If it be permitted—to an always interested reader of the *Quarterly Statement*, who has geography on the brain, having been instructed therein from his earliest youth up, until the features of the earth and its divisions are as familiar to his mind's eye as A B C, and who has of late years, not once,

but many times, pondered this same impressive subject of Ezekiel's "*Prophetic Divisions*"—to assert an expression of his views differing by 34 minutes of latitude from the apparently authoritative holding of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I venture to write down my impressions.

"34° 34′ N. latitude" is the northern boundary of the northernmost of Ezekiel's divisions, as recorded in the Old Testament edition of the Map of Western Palestine.

34° N. latitude is the result which my own calculations brought out not many weeks ago.

And on these grounds :—

1. "Hamath, Berothah, Sibraim" (Ezek. xlvii 16). "Hamath" is explained, in this and the following verses, to be not the town, but the territory, of that name.

2. "Berothah," or *B'rût-h*, ברותה, is, beyond possibility of question, *Beirût*—lat. 33° 55′ N.

3. "Sibraim," or *S'brim*, סברים, may be *Shebruh* on the west slope of Lebanon, at the entrance of the pass on the north of Jebel Sunnin, situate within two miles of the head waters of the Leontes—lat. 34° 1′.

4. There follows upon the mention of these places a specification of their locality, as being "between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath," *literally*, "between the border of Damascus and *between* the border of Hamath,"—that is, in English, they are *points on the common border* of the districts named. Now the *natural border* between the jurisdictions of Hamath and Damascus practically coincides with the 34th parallel of N. latitude—being the watershed between the basins of the Orontes and Leontes. Moreover, *the* Leontes valley is the natural commencement of the valley of the Jordan.

The beautifully clear and detailed map of Palestine in Keith Johnston's "Shilling Quarto Atlas" is all that is needed to elucidate this point. The following facts will be therein clearly seen. The four main heads of the Leontes rise respectively (from west to east) in 34° 1′, 34° 9′, 34° 10′, and 34° 2′. The two main heads of the Orontes rise each in 34° 5′. And the watershed, starting in the crest of Lebanon in 34° 10′, runs south to 34° 2′, then north-east to 34° 10′, then south-east to 34° 2′, or even 34°, east of Baalbek. This is a more "natural" boundary than the "northern base of Mount Lebanon" in 34° 34′. *The ridge of Lebanon is prolonged north of the 36th parallel, to the mouth of the Orontes.*

5. In verse 15, the border is defined in *general* terms to be "from the great sea, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad"—*literally*, "for going to Zedad." Now Zedad, or *Ts'd'd-h*, צדדה, is—again beyond possibility of doubt—*Sudud*, on the edge of the Syrian desert, in lat. 34° 21′.

It may be noted, in passing, that this is the nearest point mentioned to the 34° 34′ of the Map of Western Palestine. It is, however, *not* Zedad, but the "way to Zedad," that is given as a point on the border.

6. "Hethlon" I do not claim to identify,[1] nor have I ever seen any identification proposed. But the "way of Hethlon, for going to Zedad,"

[1] See, however, the note appended at the end of this article.

may well be that which lies through the opposite pair of steep and rugged mountain passes in the ranges of Lebanon and Antilebanon,—penetrating the former in 34° 1′, the latter—ten miles due east of Baalbek—in *precisely* 34° N. latitude. This route is the nearest way to *Sudud* for one starting from *Beirût*.

7. To return to verse 16. The account continues, "Hazar-hatticon, which is by the coast of Hauran." The "*village*" (H'ts'r, *an enclosed place*) "of *Tikûn*"—חצר ה תיכון—I consider to be not unreasonably represented by the modern *Kury-e-tein* (Kury being the same as קיר, *Kîr* —from root *Kûr*—meaning *an enclosed place*)—lat. 34° 9′.

Kuryetein is the *easternmost* place on this latitude, being on the very edge of the desert. Moreover, it is

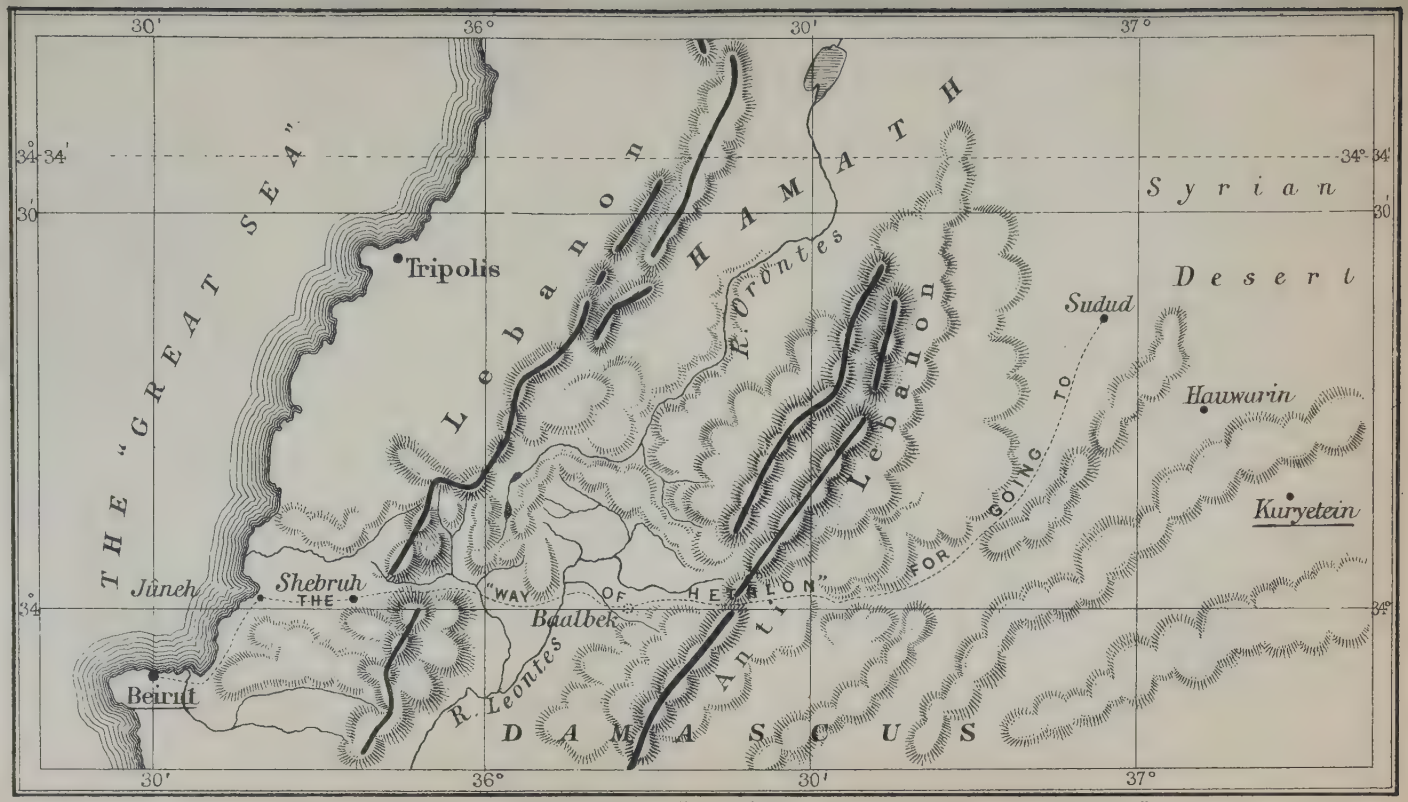
8. "*beside Hauran.*" The mention of Hauran here, as a place near the northern boundary of the land, excludes the Jebel Hauran, the Bashan or Auranitis of the ancients, in 32° 45′. So also does the mention of Hauran in verse 18, where it is named as *north of Damascus*. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that, beyond possibility of doubt, the *H'w'r'n*—חורן—here intended is the immediate neighbour of Kuryetein on the north-west, lying half-way between that place and Sudud—to wit, *Hauwarin*, in lat. 34° 15′.

9. Lastly, before finally summing up the border, once more, as the common border of Hamath and Damascus, the account specifies the precise point where the boundary line starts "from the great sea." And it seems not altogether unreasonable to identify this point, given as "the village" (Hazar, H'ts'r, as above) "of עינון," or (xlviii, 1) "עינן," with the village and bay of *Juneh, situate within one minute of the* 34*th parallel.* This identification, in itself perhaps weak, is yet strong when considered in the light of the above cumulative evidence.

Briefly to recapitulate, the evidence is as follows :—

The 34th parallel is a mean between the latitudes of *Beirût* and *Kuryetein*, respectively the most western and most eastern places referred to in the definition of the boundary. The former (just below the parallel), mentioned as being an important place lying very near the border-line ; destined, moreover, to retain its name unchanged. The latter (just above the parallel) being that one of the few scattered desert villages which is nearest to the eastern extremity of the border-line. This same 34th parallel, moreover, cuts all the other places mentioned as points on the boundary ; while it is the nearest possible conventional line which will at the same time preserve the natural physical divisions of the country. Lastly, if 34° 34′ had been intended, why should mention have been made of Beirût, a place distant more than *forty* miles, when a place fully as important, namely, *Tripolis*, lies within eight miles ?

Assuming, therefore—what is certainly the plain inference from a careful consideration of the whole passage, Ezekiel xlvii 13, to xlviii 29—that a line due east and west is intended (and here I am at one with the "Key to Ezekiel's Prophetic Divisions"), it follows that, unless either the validity of the above identifications be disproved, or a case equally strong be made



THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF "EZEKIEL'S PROPHETIC DIVISIONS."

Harrison & Sons, Lith., St. Martins Lane, W.C.

out to establish some other result, the boundary line indicated is the 34th parallel of N. latitude.

Some may be tempted to imagine that this is but a trifling point; but if, as many believe, and as the whole of the great work undertaken by the "Palestine Exploration Fund" seems plainly to indicate, Britain be the Divinely ordained instrument for effecting the restoration of the Jews to the Land of Promise—these investigations may become of paramount value.

APPENDED NOTE.

Since writing the above it has occurred to me that it may, after all, be possible to identify *Hethlon*. If there be any reasonableness in the following proposed etymologies, it is more than probable that *Hethlon* is only another name for *Baalbek*. I submit the etymologies for the consideration of Hebrew scholars.

Baal-bek.	Heth-lon (חתלן).
(1) בעל, בקע = to cleave, break, rend; whence בקעה, *El Beka'a*, "The Valley."	(1) חתת = to break or crush; לן by contraction for לאון, "for Ôn"—Ôn being another designation of the sun-god, Baal.
(2) בעל, בכה = to weep.	(2) *Same*, only with the derived meaning for the root חתת = to alarm, be terrified.

In the first case the meaning of the two names will be "The Breach of Baal or Ôn." In the second case, "The Sorrow, or Terror, of Baal, or Ôn." If either of these meanings be established, we have at once the identification of the else unknown "Way of Hethlon;" the track, namely, leading from Beirût and the sea across the steep ranges of Lebanon and Anti-lebanon, with the majestic ruins of Baalbek lying between, to Sudud on the edge of the Syrian desert.

I may further add that what I have lately learnt from a friend, who has himself ridden along the Syrian coast, about the continuity of the Valley of Coele-Syria, with scarcely any perceptible watershed between the Orontes and the Leontes, has in no wise affected, in my own mind, the striking nature of the identification set forth in my article. May I venture to hope that the subject may not be left altogether unnoticed?

"Oxonian."

SILOAM AND THE POOLS.

The newly-discovered aqueduct "in connection with the Fountain of the Virgin, which apparently carried water direct to the lower Pool of Siloam" (1882, 4), seems to me to supply a missing link and to clear up an important question. I was of opinion four years ago (1879, 180) that "the waters of Shiloah" had to do with the Virgin's Fountain, and yet could not

have flowed along the Siloam tunnel, as that seemed to me to be undoubtedly the work of Hezekiah. Professor Sayce (1882, 62) fixes the date of the Siloam inscriptions as not later than the time of Ahaz, for the two following reasons :—

(1) "As Shiloah signifies 'a conduit,' the tunnel with the inscription in it must have existed before the time when Isaiah viii 6 was written, and have given its name to the locality."

(2) "The fact that the reservoir is called simply 'the pool' in the inscription is one I cannot easily get over. If other similar reservoirs existed at the time in Jerusalem, as we know they did in the time of Isaiah, it is difficult to understand how it could be called merely 'the pool,' and not 'the Pool of Shiloah' or 'the King's pool,' as in Nehemiah iii, 15, and ii, 14."

On the assumption that the newly-found aqueduct really does lead from the Virgin's Fountain, we may safely assert that it is more ancient than "the Siloam tunnel," since it would be unnecessary after the latter was completed. The true explanation, then, seems to be that in the time of Ahaz (and probably long before it) the waters of Shiloah used to flow from the Virgin's Fount along the lately-discovered aqueduct into a pool (for this very reason called the Pool of Siloam), represented by one of the two present pools. Thus this new discovery shows that point (1) is a fallacious argument. The tunnel need not have existed in the time of Ahaz for the waters to flow along it, as there was already existing another aqueduct along which they might and undoubtedly did flow. It also solves what in my opinion was a very great difficulty, viz., how to apply to a locality near Ain Silwan *all* the various passages where Shiloah Siloah, and Siloam are mentioned in the Bible and Josephus. I am glad, therefore, to come back to the popular opinion (1878, 187) about Siloam.

Point (2) seems to be answered by 2 Kings xx, 20 : "Hezekiah made a (Heb. *the*) pool and a (Heb. *the*) conduit, and brought water into the city." This king is emphatically stated to have made *the pool* (and the inscription speaks of *the pool*) and *the conduit*, though both a pool and conduit are named earlier (Isa. vii, 3, 8), in which place the prophet need not speak proleptically.

Without question, then, the canal seems to me to be the work of Hezekiah, and to be referred to in two passages in the Bible, 2 Kings xx, 20, and 2 Chron. xxxii, 30. I anticipate that the wording of the inscription will finally be allowed to confirm the identity of this canal with these works of Hezekiah.

On page 148 (1881) apparently,

הַמּוֹצִיא (5) represents מוֹצָא in 2 Chron. xxxii, 30.

מֵאתִי (5) represents לְמִטָּה in 2 Chron. xxxii, 30.

Thus Captain Conder seems to me to win his point (which I have previously questioned), viz., that Gihon in the latter passage is the Virgin's Fountain, as it certainly seems to be in 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14. After this I

must concede that Gihon in the third place (1 Kings i, 33, 38) is also the Virgin's Fountain.

I give up at once the identification of Enrogel with the Virgin's Fountain, and of Zoheleth with M. Ganneau's Zahweileh. The "overwhelming evidence" (1878, 187) claimed in their favour is apparently fallacious. Three points only need be mentioned now, viz. :—

(1) As to the *stone* of Zoheleth. This stone was an *eben*, which term is never applied to a *cliff* like Zahweileh, but to a stone that might be rolled over by human strength.

(2) As both the terms *ain* and *bor* are applied to the same spring in Genesis xxiv, 16, 20, it is quite allowable to identify Ain-Rogel either with Joab's Well or the spring which at times bursts out of the ground a little to the south of it.

(3) Since Gihon was the Virgin's Fountain, Enrogel must be looked for elsewhere, as (*a*) the two names can hardly be applied to the same place in 1 Kings i ; and (*b*) it is incredible, and not consistent with the sacred narrative, that Solomon should be crowned in full view of Adonijah and his supporters, which would be the case if the stone of Zoheleth were identical with the cliff of Zahweileh.

Other interesting points of detail become now more probable if not certain, viz. :—

(1) The two walls (2 Kings xxv, 4 ; Isa. xxii, 11) are those reaching one from the upper city and the other from the city of David (on Ophel) to the present upper Pool of Siloam.

(2) This pool represents "the ditch between the two walls."

(3) The present lower Pool of Siloam most probably is the King's Pool (Neh. ii, 14) and "the old pool" (Isa. xxii, 11).

(4) One can hardly avoid identifying "the pool that was made" with (the pool of) the Virgin's Fountain, improbable though it may seem that the wall on the west side of Gihon in the valley (*nachal*) was built *so near* the eastern base of the Ophel ridge as to come *quite close* to the pool, as appears to be required by עד (A.V. *to*) in Nehemiah iii, 16. Or could the chasm (Jer. Rec., 1871, 251) with water at the bottom have been "the pool that was made?" Or was a pool constructed on the south slope of Ophel, and supplied with water from the aqueduct (Jer. Rec., 105) by its being carried across the Tyropœon?

W. F. Birch.

THE INSCRIPTIONS AT JERÂSH.

Sir,

In the report of the Princes' visit to the Holy Land, in your last *Statement*, there is a copy of a tolerably long inscription found at Jerâsh, No. 4, which is spoken of as "newly found." If, however, you go back to your

Quarterly Statement for April, 1872, p. 70, you will find it already in print. I may add that I copied it in 1860. You printed a much longer one, which I discovered at the same time, in your *Quarterly Statement* for September, 1870. What I wish now to point out is that apparently the plinth containing the Princes' inscription, No. 4, has been snapped in two, or partly lost, since I visited the spot in 1860. It is in Homeric lines, and reads better if so printed.

.....ΟΜΟC ΕΙΜΙ ΑΕΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΑΘΑΝΑΤ (ΟΥ) .....ΩΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ
CΩΜΑ ΓΑΡ ΕΝ ΓΑΙΗ ΨΥΧΗ Δ ΕΙC ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΕΥΡΥΝ
ΑΓΓΕΛΙ .....ΤΕΛΕΘΕΙ ΚΑ ΓΗΡΑΟΝ ΕΡΜΑ
.....ΑCΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΑ ΕΠΗΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕCCOMENOIO
.....ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ Μ ΔΙΩΤΗC...ΤΙΝΑ ΚΑΝΗΛΘΕΝ
ΤΑΥΠΕ....

I will not guarantee the absolute accuracy of my copy, for when I made it I was young at the work; but it may help to a more accurate reading of the whole.

The inscription No. 2 I also copied in 1860; it is a fragment in Homeric lines, and may be printed thus:—

.....ΠΤΗ
ΕΝ ΧΘΟΝΙ Κ[ΑΙ] ΠΟΝΤΩ .....
.....ΟΥCΑ ΧΟΡΕΙΗC
ΕΡΚΟC.....ΟΥ ΘΥ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘΗ

I do not remember the inscription No. 3. Are not any of these inscriptions in de Vogüe's work? There is great interest attached to them: first, as showing the favour with which the Homeric style and metre were regarded for the purpose of public inscription; and secondly, as showing the high position of honour which must have been given to Christians in early days. The long inscription which you printed from my copy in September, 1870, illustrates still further the marked triumph of Christianity over false religion.

Wycliffe Lodge, Oxford. R. B. GIRDLESTONE.

THE BODIES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

I.

Clericus thinks that "the bodies of the patriarchs, with Jacob—if not those of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, and Leah—were *transferred from* Hebron to Shechem:" and, quietly remarking that "the fact is undoubted," adds, "See Acts vii, 15, 16." By all means.

A. V.	Acts vii.	'81 Version.
15. So Jacob went down into Egypt, and died, he and our fathers. 16. And were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem.	15. κατέβη δε Ἰακὼβ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. 16. καὶ μετετέθησαν εἰς Συχέμ, καὶ ἐτέθησαν[1] ἐν τῷ μνήματι ὃ ὠνήσατο Ἀβραὰμ τιμῆς ἀργυρίου παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐμμὸρ τοῦ Συχέμ.	15. And Jacob went down into Egypt, and our fathers; and they were *carried over unto Shechem, and laid*[2] in the tomb that Abraham bought for a piece in silver of the sons of Hamor (*m.* Emmor) in Sechem.

[1] *Vulg.:* Et translati sunt in Sichem et positi sunt in sepulchro.

[2] *Alford tr.:* were carried to Sychem and laid.

Clericus, in saying "transferred from Hebron," of course implies that the bodies of the twelve patriarchs were first buried there.

Certainly Macpelah at Hebron was the burial place of SARAH (Gen. xxiii); of ABRAHAM (Gen. xxv, 9); of ISAAC and REBEKAH (Gen. xlix, 31); of JACOB (Gen. l, 13) and his wife LEAH (Gen. xlix, 31). But I am aware of no statement or tradition to the effect that the twelve patriarchs were ever buried there.

Indeed the evidence is all the other way. In the above passage St. Stephen says, not that Jacob was buried in Shechem, but that there "our fathers," *i.e.*, the twelve patriarchs, were buried.

I am not aware of any authority, as regards this particular passage, for rendering μετετέθησαν "*transferred*," as Clericus translates it. There seems good reason for keeping to the A.V. "carried over." For, in fact, the body of each of the twelve patriarchs had to be "*carried over*" two geographical divisions. They had to be carried over

(1) The streams and rivers, especially the Jordan; and

(2) The boundary of the lot of each tribe's inheritance.

Yaxley, Suffolk,
6th October, 1882.

W. H. S.

II.

I THINK that your correspondent "Clericus" will find, on further examination, that his "fact" as to the bodies of the eleven patriarchs having been moved from Hebron to Shechem, is by no means so "undoubted" as he supposes.

There is nothing in Holy Scripture to show that the bodies of the eleven sons of Jacob were ever buried at Hebron, and therefore, nothing to show that they were ever carried from Hebron to Shechem. St. Stephen (Acts vii, 16) does not say that they were carried to Shechem from *Hebron*, but from *Egypt*, in which country they died.

It is true that Josephus (Antt. II, viii, 2, and B. J. IV, ix, 7) is positive that the eleven patriarchs were buried in Hebron ; but this will not help "Clericus," for Josephus implies that the bodies were still in Hebron when he was writing. He says he had seen their monuments there, elegantly constructed of the best marble, and he says nothing about the tombs being empty. But the learned Lightfoot (Hor. Hebr. on Acts vii, 16), who is followed by Bishop Wordsworth, suggests that this claim of the later Jews to possess the sepulchres of the eleven patriarchs arose only out of their jealousy of the Samaritans, and they would probably have claimed the tomb of Joseph as well but for the express words of Scripture at Joshua xxiv, 32.

St. Stephen's statement, that the eleven patriarchs were carried from Egypt and buried in Shechem, is supported by the authority of St. Jerome, who distinctly says that the twelve patriarchs (including Joseph) are not buried at Hebron, but at Sychem, where his disciple St. Paula saw their sepulchres (Ep. 86, &c., App. Bp. Wordsworth). It is worth while observing that St. Stephen's words need not be pressed so as to make out that Jacob also was buried at Shechem ; the fact that he was buried at Hebron was sufficiently notorious to make further reference to it needless.

Your faithfully,

12*th August*, 1882. CHARLES DRUITT.

SAUL'S JOURNEY.

(1 Sam. ix.)

BY HERR C. SCHICK.

(*From the Zeitschroft of the German Exploration Society.*)

IN considering the route by which Saul reached the land of Zuph, my chief endeavour will be to point out the most likely positions of Rachel's grave, Saul's Gibeah, and Samuel's habitation, Rama.

Of the various suppositions about Rama we must speak later on—for the present it is more important that we should discuss the position of Gibeah. It is generally thought that the latter should be sought in Tel-el-ful, and that Saul started from thence, with his servant, and passed by Mount Ephraim, and through (Salisa) Shalisha, Shalim and Benjamin into the land of Zuph. The journey to Rama lasted three days, and the whole context seems to suggest slow travelling on foot rather than the speedy

progress which the Rabbi Schwarz attributes when he describes this journey as extending through the whole of Samaria as far as the Jordan. With regard to Mount Ephraim, the *Wâdy Hannina* (commencing to the north of Gibeah, and running in a south-westerly direction to Beit Hanina and 'Ain Karim) forms the natural boundary between the mountains of Judah and Mount Ephraim. The land of Shalisha must be sought for to the east of the present Ram, and is most likely identical with Laish, Isaiah 10, 30, which we find mentioned in connection with Rama and Anathoth. The next place through which Saul passed was the land of Shalim, and this must be sought in the neighbourhood of Mickmas and Tayebe, a district now called Bene Salim[1]). Arrived here Saul must have passed into the land of Benjamin, and continued in a westerly direction. Journeying towards Bethel, we may imagine that the first night would be spent near Surda, or somewhere in that neighbourhood. On the second day, travelling southwards, they would about reach Abu Ghosh. And the third day, as they continued in an easterly direction from Gibeah (and when in the neighbourhood of Beit Nakuba) they would see before them on a hill the present Suba. Robinson has already tried to identify this place with the habitation of Samuel, the ancient *Ramathaim Zophim*. This would therefore be the scene of Saul's meeting with the prophet. The springs of Suba lie below in the valley to the west.

As Saul departed on the following day to return to his home, the route (1 Sam. x, 2) which he was directed to take, was by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin at Zelzal, the oak of Tabor, Gibeah Elōhim where the garrison of the Philistines was. We receive, throughout, the impression that this was the natural route, and it does not seem possible that a turning away to the Rachel's grave of tradition was intended, for the latter is in the territory of Juda. Now there is actually an ancient tomb north of the hill on which is the village Kastal (and on the top of the ridge of hills) called Kubbet 'Abd el-'Aziz, or sometimes Kubbet *Rahel*. The appearance of the place suggests great age; near some old trees there is a tank cut in the rock, and the remains of houses. If the boundary line was drawn from the spring of Lifta to Abu Ghosh this spot would lie within the border of Benjamin, and near to its limits. The direct way from Suba to Tell-el-ful leads past it, running in a north-easterly direction along the ridge of the mountain as far as Neby Samwil.

North of this tomb, below the gardens of Beit Surîk there is a rocky valley, and it is here perhaps that Zelzal should be sought. Ascending again from the valley, we find a little grove which is considered sacred (a wely), and which may be a survival of the tradition of the oak of Tabor, and, possibly, the three men who here crossed Saul's way, were coming from Koloniyeh and Beit Tulma and were passing over the ridge to go by Neby Samwil to Beitin.

[1] Any connection between these two names is, according to philological laws, hardly possible.

With regard to Neby Samwil, many things lead us to suppose that it is the ancient Mizpeh. Before Saul reached this hill he passed a post of the Philistines, and from here his way would lead him to the southern side of the hill, where he came across, and joined the company of the young prophets. As the hill was one of the chief seats of learning, it was called the "hill of God," or "Gibeat Elōhīm," and it is identical with Gibeon, the high place at which Solomon sacrificed (1 Kings 3, 4). The town of Gibeon lay at the northern foot of the hill. The tradition that Samuel was buried there is of comparatively modern date, and perhaps arose from its being the burial place of some Christian or Mohammedan saint of the same name.

From there Saul would have had about an hour's journey—by Bet Hnina before reaching his home in Gibeah.

THE GEORGIAN INSCRIPTION AT JERUSALEM.

Deciphered by Professor Zagarelli of St. Petersburg.

(*From the Zeitschrift of the German Exploration Society.*)

In September, 1879, in the large Greek convent at Jerusalem, Herr Schick discovered a stone in the corner of a wall on which was a large and very well cut inscription.

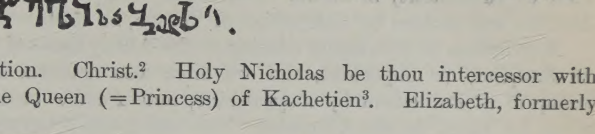
Upon making inquiries he was told the characters were in "Korgi," and that they were cut by a people whose kings once had considerable influence in Jerusalem, and whose descendants now lived in the far north on the Caucasus; but no one knew the modern name of this nation. Herr Schick sent me this information, and after a little consideration I concluded that most likely the characters were the ancient Georgian—which used to be called "Khuzuri" (or the priestly), see Fr. Ballhorn "Alphabets," 1880).

Professors Leskien and Euting, of Strasburg, agreed with this view, but neither were able to decipher the characters.

Herr Euting was therefore good enough to forward the copy to Dr. von Dorn in St. Petersburg, by whom it was given to Professor Zagarelli. A long delay occurred owing to Professor Zagarelli's first translation being lost in the post; but after waiting a long while I wrote about it, and he was good enough to send me a copy of his work.

As I neither know the language, nor am well versed in the history of the Georgians, I cannot decide on the historical value of the inscription, but Professor Zagarelli points out that it is of considerable importance to Georgian history, as it proves the long connection of the Georgians with the Holy Land by the fact that at various times they built and supported cloisters. And also (according to Professor Zagarelli) the inscription has a certain importance paleographically as being a specimen of the ancient Georgian ecclesiastical characters. The inscription will doubtless soon be fully explained, as many efforts are being made in various directions to elucidate it.—H. Guthe. Leipzig, 1881.

1. The following is the inscription (with interpolated additional characters) in ecclesiastical Georgian characters[1] :—



3. Translation. Christ.[2] Holy Nicholas be thou intercessor with Christ for the Queen (=Princess) of Kachetien[3]. Elizabeth, formerly Helena.[4]

LIST OF RECENT PALESTINE LITERATURE.

By Professor Socin.

(*From the Zeitschrift of the German Palestine Exploration Society.*)

Amongst works treating of early ethnographical subjects, *Baur* and *Kautsch's* short sketches deserve especial notice.

In *Kugler's* compendium of the History of the Crusades, we have a most valuable book, and one that supplies a long felt want. To students it will prove an excellent guide, as it disentangles the contents of a ponderous mass of publications, and gives a very clear account of our present knowledge of the subject. It can have been no easy task to elucidate the policy of a period so bewildering in its confusion of interests and claims. The jealousies of the European powers, the self-interestedness of the pontiffs, the arrogance of the Byzantine court, and the endless dynastic and family conflicts, all combine to make an accurate history of the time an almost impossible task. Herr Kugler, however, has triumphed over all these difficulties, and given us a book which, both for historical and geographical investigations, can hardly be too highly commended. The accompanying map of Syria in the time of the Crusades is especially valuable.

[1] The capitals are the ecclesiastical characters; the rest is filled up in civil Georgian.

[2] All ancient Georgian documents of any importance commence with the letter (=kh), it signifies "the name of God," or God willing.

[3] The early kingdom of Kachetien is included in the present province of Tiflis.

[4] The Helena here mentioned, is doubtless the daughter of the king of Kachetien, David II, 1604, and sister of Teimuraz I, 1605–1665. She first journeyed (about 1615) to Persia, and later (1624) to Jerusalem, where she founded the cloister of St. Nicholas, in which she became a nun under the name of Elizabeth, or according to some inscriptions, Anastasia. See Brosset's "Histoire de Georgie," ii, and Bullet. "Hist. Philolog.," ii and iii.

In our last review we referred to the *Trench collection* of the historical works of the Crusades. It includes Baldricus, Guibert de Nogent, Albert von Aachen, and the new edition of William of Tyre. *Riant* has made a most useful collection of historical letters relating to the Crusades; he publishes some which have not before been printed, and points out the want of authenticity in others. The letter of Urban II, for instance, to Alexius, was written by a physician of Verona, in 1574.

A collection of documents relating to the Abbey lands of "Notre Dame de Josaphat," is important, and we must also notice a history of the bishopric of Bethlehem by *Lagénissière*, and *Pavie's* book on the part taken by Anjou in the Crusades. The controversy between *Sepp* and *Prutz*, which we before referred to, has led to more remarks and explanations from *Gildemeister*, *Sepp*, and *Röhrich*.

Of works on natural history we must mention *Böttger's* "Reptiles and Amphibia of Palestine," and *Klingräff's* "Vegetation of Palestine;" the latter is chiefly botanical, but also touches upon the questions of grain cultivation and wood growing.

For meteorological information we have to consult various sources, and we find that the very severe winter of 1879–80 did a great deal of damage. Snow fell even in the valley of the Jordan. The reports from the Temple Observatory, give us the readings of the barometer, the rainfall, &c.

The question of what the future of Palestine is to be, becomes more urgent every year. We have before us many pamphlets on the resources of the land. As an example, we quote a few details from the reports of the German colony in Sarona. "The colony cultivates 800 acres (Ger.) of land of which 200 are vineyards and garden-land. An acre of land yields on an average 6 to 12 ctr. of good wheat, or 10 ctr. of barley. Half of the arable land is thus sown; on the rest they grow sesame, millet, potatoes, melons, &c. Potatoes planted on the 16th March, would be ripe by the 16th May, and an acre yields about 24 ctr.; a roll, six pounds, is sold for three piastres. A family could subsist well on forty acres of land. An acre of good land is worth from 10 to 12 napoleons, poor land from 3 to 6. The crop of cucumbers was so prolific that the price fell to the eighth of a piastre for six pounds. The German colony of Jaffa and a Jewish colony are flourishing equally well, but we have bad reports from the German colony at Haifa, their finances being at a low ebb.[1]

The fact that the colonists are more or less dependent on the people of the land, and, even if badly treated, have great difficulty in obtaining justice from the authorities, must always be a stumbling block to the projectors of fresh schemes for colonization. Although (from his experience of thirty years) Herr Schick assures us that European influence has caused considerable progress, we still think that many things would have to be altered before colonists could feel really safe.

[1] I have no book by me with the foreign measures, and only know the German *Malter*, or bushel, as applied to wheat. I conclude the ctr. is about equal to our quarter, of which an English acre yields from five to six.

We have the usual reports from the various missions. Pastor Baarts gives us a description of his efforts in Lebanon, Damascus, and other places. We have also the report of the Zion school. From the Roman Catholic reports, we learn that their mission has forty establishments in the Holy Land, containing no less than 300 Franciscans, and that their schools are attended by 1,440 boys, and 1,122 girls.

Another pamphlet tells us of the 17 mission stations of the Patriarch, and a third paper mentions the principal Maronite priests. The work of the missions is having a very decided effect, not only in the towns, but throughout the whole country. Our readers have doubtless been interested in Klein's papers on the Fellahin; I must also call attention to Herr Goldziher's work on the Mahomedan saints. It is a theme which has a considerable bearing on the question of the Fellahin. One thing should be borne in mind, namely, that we cannot be certain that *all* present conditions were the same in earlier times.

To turn to art history we hear that the colossal statue found near Gaza (and of which various notices have appeared) has with much difficulty been transported to Jaffa, and thence to Constantinople. In reference to the mosaics found near the mount of Olives, I must mention that the name of the place, according to Herr Schick, is in Arabic, Khurbet Kukarki. Saulcy has described some other ancient art remains, and the question of the length of the cubit is again agitated.

Steck has written about the routes of the pilgrims, and Grundt gives some details of the Empress Helena's pilgrimage.

We can only touch here on the importance of the large work of Tobler and Molinier, and also that of Röhricht and Meissner calling attention to the first 42 pages of the latter (Deutsche Pilgerreisen), which contain a very good description of the pilgrimages after the time of the Crusades. A new edition of the "Saint Voyage de Jerusalem" contains an account of the pilgrim Ogur VIII of Anglure. Dr. Gildemeister has given us the most important journeyings of Kait Bey. Martinvo's publication, contains a phototype of the "Tractatulus totius sacræ historiæ elucidatorius, &c.," which Tobler considers to date from the year 1480 (not the phototype).

The English survey map is by far the most important publication of the year.

Here we may mention *en passant*, about a dozen books of travels in various languages, but of no great importance.

To turn to more scientific works, we have Herr Schultz's article on Jerusalem, for the second addition of Herzog's Encyclopædia. In so much that is good we are sorry to find that Herr Schultz tries to place Zion again on the south-west hill. M. Walhter has written an "Etude historique" on the topography of ancient Jerusalem, on which subject we have also the valuable articles of Alten and Klaiber. With regard to the temple we are greatly pleased with Smend's treatise, and his commentary on Ezekiel. He suggests that the descriptions of the re-constructed temple, were written from plans which the prophet had before him. Grätz and Loeb have also papers on the second temple.

On the geography of Southern Palestine, many papers have appeared in the "Zeitschrift," amongst which we would call attention to Herr Schick's paper on the Frank mountain. Grätz tries to prove to us that the Nazareth of the New Testament was, according to the Talmud, on the site of the Galilean Bethlehem in the land of Zabulon; and that Migdal Nunyah of the Talmud corresponds to Magdala. Schultz's articles on Capernaum and Jericho are worthy of notice, as are also those on Hermon and Rama by Rütschi and Mühlau, all in Herzog's Encyclopædia. A description of the Carmelites reaches us from the Holy Land, written by one of the order.

After the English memoirs, the third part of Guérin's works on Palestine contains quite the best description of Western Palestine extant. Speaking of the other side of Jordan, we have an essay of Klödeus, and an interesting notice by Egli, this latter gives the measurement of the Dead Sea, and the Sea of Tiberias. Lortet has added some valuable information to our knowledge of the Galilean Sea; it was certainly once connected with the Mediterranean, hence its saltness. Its fish and mollusca are very remarkable, and amongst them Lortet has discovered a new species. In Guérin's topography of ancient Tyre, there is particular mention of a causeway, which should run from the south-west point of the island, to Ras el-abyad. A French officer has given an account of the seige of Tyre in the "Revue des deux Mondes," and Lortet has discovered a station of the age of stone near Tyre. Zschokke has an article on the Maronites, and Merredaglia a pamphlet on Cœle Syria.

Lortet's accounts of his travels, though only extending to Beirut, are charming, and his descriptions of places, and of the various types of people, most accurate and clever.

According to C. von Scherzer's review, it is to be regretted that the Grand Duke Ludwig Salvator's work cannot be obtained by the general public. The theory of the Exodus has been again discussed. Doughty examined the ancient remains of Madain Saleh (Hidyer, near Medina), which resemble those of Petra, and then proceeded to Nej, and Dr. Soetbeer has been seeking the gold mines of Ophir.